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The Impact of the Social Unconscious on Organizational Learning in Kazakhstan

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The Impact of the Social Unconscious on Organizational Learning in Kazakhstan

Indira Kjellstrand

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

University of Bath

School of Management

October 2015

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Abstract

The purpose of this research is to explore the impact of the social unconscious on organizational learning in Kazakhstan. Organizational learning is presented as a social process, and interpreted as happening in the interplay between social and unconscious emotions and organizational power relations (Vince and Gabriel, 2011; Vince, 2001). Psychodynamic theory is used to study organizational learning. This approach supports an analysis of the interplay between unconscious emotions and power relations that affect organizational learning processes.

The study pinpoints how individuals in organizations are bound to organizational power relations, which both define the learning possibilities of its members, and, at the same time, reproduce those power relations. I focus on the unconscious elements of the reproduction of power relations that harbour and steer individual and collective relations (Frosh, 2001). Particular attention is paid to how power relations, which are influenced by the social unconscious (Weinberg, 2007) regulate individuals' inner worlds and underlie their social interactions.

The empirical part of the thesis presents the fieldwork in five organisations where semi-structured interviews were carried out using elements of photo-elicitation, with records kept in my reflexive diary notes. The work is grounded in my empirical data, and designed to address the research questions by iterative movement between the captured data and the theoretical framework.

The research contributes to scholarship pertaining to emotion, politics and organizational learning with the key contribution being the insights gained from probing the role of individuals and their emotions in their efforts to learn in post-Soviet organizations. Elements of the old (Soviet) regime linger in the new organizations that form Kazakhstan's free market economy and the tension between these regimes provides an environment that is rich both in emotion and power/politics. This offers an opportunity to shed light on the interplay between emotion as well as power during individual and organizational attempts to learn. More specifically, emotions and organizational power relations are discussed through five aspects of the social unconscious identified from the empirical data. Subsequently, four sets of emotions pertaining to the five aspects are refined from these findings and discussed in terms of the impact that emotions have on learning processes.

1. Introduction and overview of thesis

My original contribution to knowledge is to elicit the possible impacts of the social unconscious on organizational learning. Organizational learning is approached as a social process intertwined with emotions and power relations. It is much more than a rational, conscious, and well thought-out process, because whilst at work various emotions and power relations are unavoidable, often legitimate, elements of organizational learning. Moreover, individuals deal with their everyday commitments and learn during the course of unintended actions (Vince & Gabriel, 2011; Vince, 2001). It is further argued that organizational power relations and emotions are informed by the societal context, especially by the unconsciously shared habits left from the past. Such unconscious elements are conceptualised as the social unconscious, and studied as the key concept that underlies organizational power relations and social and unconscious emotions in organizations.

The focal context for this research is Kazakhstan, a country undergoing transformation from the Soviet system with a planned economy into a capitalist form with a free market economy, and it is reasonable to assume that such colossal changes inflict moral traumas and might be accompanied by various defences, that is, myths emerging about the past and the new systems, with both bitter and sweet memories being commonly shared (Weinberg, 2007). The juxtaposition of the above conceptualization of the social unconscious and the apparent contradictions and challenges in the transforming environment of Kazakhstan offers a fruitful opportunity for developing a novel way of looking at the possibilities for organizational learning.

Moreover, the role of the individual is highlighted in these processes as it is the individual who participates in learning on behalf of an organization. To do so, the study investigates the unconscious aspects of how individuals participate in organizational power relations and psychodynamics is adopted as the main theoretical lens for uncovering the unconscious in organizations (Fineman, 2003; Hirschhorn, 1988). More specifically, the psychodynamic approach highlights how emotional and unconscious processes linger and penetrate our lives over time. In particular, this researcher sets out to examine the unconscious embodied actions that happen as part of individuals' attempts to engage or resist organizational learning.

Photo-elicitation is applied to investigate unconscious emotions in this work. In the area of psychodynamics, to date, the social photo-matrix has been employed to study the group unconscious underlying organizational processes (Sievers, 2008, 2013). Although the potential around emotions in relation to photographs has been acknowledged (Warren, 2009a), so far in the context of organizational learning only participant produced drawings have been used for uncovering emotions impacting on organizational change (Vince & Broussine, 1996). During the course of the interviews held for this study I simultaneously presented two photographs representing the two systems co-existing in the post-Soviet context to investigate the unconscious elements underlying organizational processes.

Research questions

The main research question for this study is formulated as follows:

How do the dynamics between the social unconscious, organizational power relations and social and unconscious emotions influence organizational learning in Kazakhstan?

In order to investigate this, the following sub-questions are addressed:

- a What are the aspects of the social unconscious that influence organizational learning in Kazakhstan?
- b What are the emotions and organizational power relations underlying the social unconscious?
- c Whether, and if so, how does past Soviet experience influence organizational power relations in Kazakhstan?

Overview of theory

Organizational learning is conceptualized as a social process happening as the result of interaction among individuals at work (Brandi & Elkjaer, 2011; Crossan, Maurer, & White, 2011; Easterby-Smith & Lyles, 2011). Thus individuals are learning while taking part in everyday organizational activities. It is conceptualized that such learning processes in organizations are intertwined with organizational power relations and with social and unconscious emotions.

Individuals are conceptualized as internalizing organizational power relations, and at the same time, reproducing them. This process of reproducing and performing what is internalized is thought to be partially unconscious in nature (Butler, 1995) and informed by unconscious fantasies.

Taking into consideration the importance of these unconscious fantasies, it has been proposed that the social unconscious is a worthy concept to develop, considering the possibilities that the chosen Kazakhstani context offers. The social unconscious is defined as the shared myths, fantasies and/or defences of a group or society (Weinberg, 2007). The context of this research is Kazakhstan, a country currently undergoing transformation from one political and economic system to another. This provides a rare occasion for research at a time where organizations are operating in a space at the intersection of these old and new styles. The coexistence of two different systems presents an opportunity for garnering the conscious as well as unconscious emotions concerning how people feel about each of the systems.

The social unconscious shared by people in Kazakhstan may inform organizational processes. It is proposed that the social unconscious underlies organizational power relations and thus triggers social and unconscious emotions. The psychodynamics approach used in this study helps to uncover how the two systems in Kazakhstan coexist in the organizational context. Recent studies from other areas of research serve as the inspiration for utilizing social emotions in relation to organizational power relations enacted in organizations (Creed, Hudson, Okhuysen, & Smith-Crowe, 2014; DeJordy & Barrett, 2014; Kent, Jordan, & Troth, 2014). For instance, Creed and colleagues (2014) deconstructed and analyzed the organizational dynamics to illustrate how social emotions and systemic power relations intertwine and are enacted in organizational settings.

Moreover, it is theorized that such dynamics in organizations impact upon organizational learning. The dynamics between the social unconscious, organizational power relations and social and unconscious emotions provide a rich mix displaying the ability of individuals in organizations to reconstruct co-created and established organizational rules, supported by organizational power relations, in keeping with their orientations (Vince, 2001). By combining several existing theoretical constructs in a novel way, I investigate how the possibilities for organizational learning are specifically affected by the social unconscious.

Methodology

The interpretive philosophical view corresponds with the purpose of this study as I rely on the respondents' comments to inform the development of existing theory. One-to-one interviews, a reflective research diary, and the technique of photo-elicitation are used to generate data for this research. Photo-elicitation was specifically chosen to probe the unconscious of the research participants. To reveal how the legacy of the Soviet system impacts on current organizational processes, a pair of photos, one depicting a Soviet and the other a contemporary workplace was inserted during the course of the interviews. This helps to uncover the existing tensions between the two systems.

The data was collected in Kazakh and Russian languages and consequently transcribed and coded using the Nvivo program. Parts of the interviews were directly translated and transcribed by this researcher. Otherwise, for reasons of convenience and to preserve the richness of the collected data while analysing it, the interviews were kept in the original languages and only parts used for citation were translated into English. The data analysis was designed to exploit the research participants' subjective interpretations, and the analysis of the data was iterative, moving back and forth between the emergent themes and the empirical data (Corley & Gioia, 2004; Gioia, Corley, & Hamilton, 2013).

The emergent themes

Five aspects of the social unconscious emerge from this empirical study. These are identified as: 'searching for the kollektiv', 'no border between work and private life', 'the new is too individualistic and everybody is on their own', 'no room for mistakes', and 'creating a façade'. Initially, each of these aspects is discussed separately in terms of social and unconscious emotions. The attempt was made to uncover fully the organizational processes in the work kollektiv, with the focus being the social and unconscious emotions triggered by the social unconscious. Several possible outcomes relating to what was felt and how these evolved are illustrated in vignettes accompanied with detailed examples from the fieldwork. This is followed by an account of organizational power relations normalizing each aspect of the social unconscious, through both systemic and episodic means.

Following this, three key vignettes are presented. These serve to illustrate the complexity of the processes of organizing for each has been specifically chosen to demonstrate how several aspects of the social unconscious can play out in day to day interactions among people in a kollektiv. Finally, four sets of overarching emotions taken from the analysis of the social unconscious were used to describe the general situation in the kollektivs in order to understand the landscape for organizational learning (Vince and Gabriel, 2011).

Format of the thesis

The remaining part of the thesis comprises five chapters. In Chapter 2 the pertinent literature in the areas of organizational learning, organizational power relations, as well as emotions and organizational relations in Kazakhstan are presented. The theoretical framework of this research is presented at the end of the literature review chapter. The focus of Chapter 3 is the methodological aspects of the research. Initially, I explain and justify the philosophical choice and then move on to describe the empirical work. This covers the data collection and analysis methods that are deemed suitable for investigating the research questions. Where appropriate the challenges that I personally experienced during the data collection and analysis procedures are reported. Chapter 4 forms the presentation of the findings. The five aspects of the social unconscious identified as a result of the data analysis are outlined and discussed. First, each of the five aspects is addressed in terms of the felt emotions and the ways they exist in everyday work processes. In the last part of the chapter, three key vignettes are presented. Each portrays a slice of organizational life in which several aspects of the social unconscious come into play in taken-for-granted organizational dynamics. In Chapter 5, I concentrate on the emotions surrounding the aspects of the social unconscious. I refine these emotions into four themes and consider each so as to illustrate their relation to learning. Then the ideas on relations between individuals and organizational learning, the legacy of the Soviet time reminiscent in the aspects of the social unconscious and different ways for group emotions to emerge in organizational learning are discussed in detail. The concluding chapter concentrates on the limitations of this study and offers some avenues for future research.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

Three theoretical concepts, the theoretical framework, together with the context of the study are presented in the following chapter. These cover the literature on organizational learning, organizational power relations and emotions, with organizational learning forming the main theoretical platform, as this study investigates the interplay between organizational power relations and emotions in relation to it. The empirical work for the study was conducted in the post-Soviet context of Kazakhstan and therefore the overview of the context is focused on Soviet organizational relations and its impact on current Kazakhstani work relations. A brief overview of the key literature on the Soviet and currently evolving Kazakhstani organizational methods and work relations follows. Lastly, the theoretical framework of this research is presented.

2.2. Organizational learning

The literature on organizational learning discusses the cognitive and process oriented approaches. There are many schools of thought that scholars belong to and several approaches used to study the topic of organizational learning, with some overlapping each other. But for the convenience of discussing them, I divided the scholarship broadly into two views, according to how scholars relate to individuals: focusing mainly on their cognitive abilities or studying them as part of social processes. Initially, I discuss the organizational learning literature that focuses on cognitive abilities of individuals that contribute to organizational learning. Then I move on to the social aspects of organizational life and consider organizational learning as a social process that is embedded in the context of everyday activities. Concerning organizational learning, it is considered to be more than the sum of individual learning (Argyris & Schön, 1978), however, it occurs only through individuals. Several attempts at incorporating individuals into organizational learning have suggested considering them as acting on behalf of the organization (ibid).

2.2.1. The cognitive view of organizational learning

Under this lens, organizational learning is generally defined as happening through interpersonal and social processes (Huber, 1991) with learning taking place ‘inside individual human heads’

(Simon, 1991:125). Social interactions help to distribute the information and knowledge acquired by individuals, and newly acquired knowledge further solidifies in organizational memory (Huber, 1991). There are two approaches to considering the roles of individuals in organizational learning: as the providers of information and as interpreters of meaning, but both rely on the cognitive abilities of an individual. With respect to the first, the primacy of individuals in organizational learning is highlighted in system structural theories which regard individuals as recipients and carriers of information (Daft & Huber, 1986). Proponents of this theoretical stance approach organizational learning from the macro- or micro- level and tend to investigate how either the organizations or individuals acquire and/or distribute information (Hedberg, 1979; March, 1991). Through this lens, individual learning is frequently measured in terms of either efficiency in acquiring and/or sharing information (Daft & Huber, 1986) or by behavioural change in response to situations that require new stimulus-response mechanisms (Hedberg, 1979).

The second approach focuses on the individuals' analytical capacity to interpret different organizational processes. For instance, organizational level learning has been broken down into scanning-interpreting-learning stages (Daft & Weick, 1984). This method extended the breadth of cognitive theories by proposing that organizational learning is about putting cognitive learning into action. Further, there are various ways through which individual learning becomes organizational. For example, it is contended that organizations learn through the reduction of the equivocality of individual interpretations of activities through sharing observations and discussions following organizational procedures and guidelines (ibid) or by organizations collecting, analyzing and retaining professionals' knowledge that contributes to their learning (Popper & Lipshitz, 2000). This second view which addresses organizational learning through individuals' cognitive abilities relies on their interpretive skills (Argyris & Schön, 1978; Fiol & Lyles, 1985), and the underlying assumption is that organizations learn as a result of analytical processes that happen in the minds of some of the people. These are subsequently shared with others (Crossan, Lane, & White, 1999), and thereby contribute to an organizational shared mental model which is independent of any specific individual (Kim, 1993).

Theories explaining the relations between individual and organizational learning tend to make certain assumptions about individuals' learning abilities and structural limitations to individual

learning. For, while individuals learn by interpreting meaning, to date, the extant studies in this area address it as being the outcome of individuals' intellectual work, which assumes learning to be a commodity. For example, individuals acquire strategic thinking abilities (Casey & Goldman, 2010) or learn by following certain steps to achieve knowledge creation (Richter, 1998). The advocates of this approach recognize individuals' cognitive capabilities as being the only source of the so-called mechanism through which organizations function. In addition, some empirical studies have stressed the limitations of individual learning caused by organizational power relations and point out that individuals learn to sustain the status quo rather than push the organization forward (Antonacopoulou, 2006). This scholar makes an important contribution by recognizing organizational power relations as playing a key role in organizational learning, but nonetheless did not highlight individuals' capacity to shape and drive learning in organizations.

Many studies concerning the relation of the individual to organizational learning have been pragmatic, focusing, for example, on evidence from managerial learning practices (Antonacopoulou, 2006), examining on-the-job action trajectories of executives (Richter, 1998), and tracing entrepreneurial experiences of intuitive leaders (Crossan et al., 1999) as well as generally describing organizational learning as a positive endeavour for advancing existing skills (Cohen, 1991), or ingesting innovative ideas (Simon, 1991). Although these are useful observations, and the cognitive abilities of individuals make an important contribution to organizational learning, the aim in the present study is to move beyond treating this simply as a product of active learning with potentially positive outcomes.

2.2.2. The process oriented view of organizational learning

The process oriented approach acknowledges the dynamic and social nature of organizational learning (Crossan et al., 2011; Vince & Gabriel, 2011). This conception of organizational learning treats it as process oriented, according to which learning occurs as a result of interaction between individuals (Brandi & Elkjaer, 2011; Crossan et al., 2011; Easterby-Smith & Lyles, 2011). Hence, along with his/her cognitive abilities, an individual's participation in everyday organizational life is also recognized as part of learning (Brandi & Elkjaer, 2011). Thus, organizational learning is more than merely an output, kept in individuals' minds, and it extends to the social processes of co-creating, knowing, and learning. It also reveals the intricacy and

nonlinearity of this process (Berends & Lammers, 2010) and helps us to appreciate the complexity of the social processes in which individuals are embedded (Brandt & Elkjaer, 2011).

Moreover, this highlights the intricacy of an individual's learning process and helps to avoid the tendency to individualize organizational learning (Richter, 1998). Complementing the cognitive view, this process oriented approach suggests that we should think of the individual as a person who is embedded in a certain context, having his/her own views and values, as one who is expected to fulfil his/her job responsibilities and while doing so, is partaking in everyday organizational processes and inevitably, learning. Under this lens, learning in organizations is conceptualized as 'part of everyday organizational life and work. Learning cannot be avoided; it is not a choice for or against learning ... learning is not restricted to taking place inside individuals' mind but as a process of participation and interaction' (Brandt & Elkjaer, 2011:29). Organizational learning, therefore, is much more than just a rational, positive, conscious, and well thought-out process, because whilst at work, individuals deal with their everyday commitments and learn during the course of unintended actions (Vince & Gabriel, 2011). Although organizational learning is thought to be a progressive idea entailing moving the organization forward, various social forces might impede this (Berends & Lammers, 2010), for some people might refuse to learn (Antonacopoulou & Gabriel, 2001). This happens because, among other things, organizational learning is interwoven with organizational power relations as well as the conscious and unconscious emotions accompanying people's efforts to learn (Vince & Gabriel, 2011). The following two sections elaborate on organizational power relations and social and unconscious emotions accompanying organizational learning. However, before moving onto the next section, I define the word individual as it is frequently referred to in this research.

The term individual explained

The meaning of the term an individual (from the Latin *in dividuus* – not divisible), as a person separate from other persons who is seeking satisfaction of his or her own needs and goals, does not provide the wherewithal for capturing people as part of the society in which they are embedded. The term *the subject*, however, carries a more precise meaning than the term individual as it implies that the person embodies an ideology and discourse but may be resisting (Gabriel, 2008), whilst at the same time, shaping these phenomena (Butler, 1995; Skinner, 2012). Moreover, adopting the term subject allows us to connect the conventionally isolated individual

with the social, because the notion embraces both the independence of the individual as one having the capacity to make decisions as well as his or her status of being subject to outside forces (Butler, 1995). The subject is the space wherein ‘individual’ and ‘society’ converges, highlighting the social character of human relations. In Dalal’s words, ‘the ‘I’ of the individual must of necessity be built of the existing ‘we’’ (2001:547), and the well-known example of this is the Lacanian (1977) mirror-stage where an infant recognizes herself only in relation to her mother. We, the subjects, therefore embody personal life experiences as well as the collective and social experiences in which we are embedded (Knights & McCabe, 2003) and understand and make sense of it by relating to others (Lacan, 1977). In this study, I use the term individual as it is a commonly used word, but also it carries the meaning of both aspects; individuals as independent entities as well as their inevitable relation to the social world they are surrounded by.

2.3. Organizational power relations

This section touches upon various ways of interpreting and investigating power in organization studies in general and in the literature pertaining to organizational learning in particular. Four conceptualizations of power have been brought forward: coercion, manipulation, domination, and subjectivity (Fleming & Spicer, 2007, 2014). These four are roughly divided according to how power is conceptualized with the former two types encompassing episodic power, which treats power as a possession. The latter two relate to systemic power, under which power is conceptualized as lying in the social relations amongst people. Each of these themes is widely studied in the organizational studies literature with each having a role which can complement the others to give a complete overview of power relations in organizations. Episodic and systemic power relations attribute different roles to individuals. In episodic power relations, agency and individuals’ direct coercive and manipulative abilities are key. By contrast, in systemic power relations individuals are treated as part of the society in which they are embedded and the individual self is studied as a complex space. In this space individuals’ own interests coexist with his or her social and political views, and, as stressed in this study, even the unconscious aspects of these views. In this study the aim is neither to glorify the individual as an independent agent nor to stress him/her as a mere subject to outer social forces, but rather keep in mind both possibilities.

Below the literature pertaining to power relations in organizational learning is reviewed with the purpose of conceptualizing power relations as the connecting link between organizational learning and emotions (Vince, 2001, 2002a). Building on the relational aspects of the theories in question, this researcher argues that organizational learning is intertwined with systemic power relations, and this connection between them is central in this current investigation.

2.3.1. Episodic power

This approach mainly focuses on the relation between power and agency i.e. specific episodes of power which are tied to agency. Cobb (1984) illustrated elaborate ways in which agents use their power toward certain targets in particular situations. He argued that in formal organizations power is dominated by authority, resources and status whereas in informal ones power is attributed to informal influence networks that include cliques or special interest groups (ibid). Episodic power is based on ‘careful examination of series of concrete decisions’ (Dahl, 1958:466), and are approached from the sense of coercion and manipulation (Fleming & Spicer, 2014). Both uphold the idea that power is a possession or resource, analogous to money in the economy. Coercion is usually associated with the power exercised when somebody makes the other to do something that s/he otherwise would not do. For instance, authoritative roles and superior positions in the hierarchy bear certain significance for others in an organization (Hardy & Clegg, 1996). That is, the position of managing director is thought to give the person who occupies this position considerable authority (Fleming & Spicer, 2014). Hence, this episodic stance investigates individuals and/or groups that possess and directly exercise power in organizations. Further, under this lens power is used to overcome resistance or opposition to those who exercise it (Pfeffer, 1981). There are various ways of managing with power, including the most obvious ones, such as developing the extant sources of power in order to overthrow any opposing forces as well as mastering strategies and the tactics of right timing and exploiting interpersonal influence (Pfeffer, 1992). More specifically, coercion deals with conflicts of interest and usually contains the element of ‘a fair fight’ exercised by one group, usually the senior management, who are obliged to use power to overcome opposition or weaken the resistance of another group; in organizations this is usually nonconformist employees or departments (Hardy & Clegg, 1996). Another source of power in organizations includes certain expert knowledge or specific information that people possess (Raven, 2008). With regards to this, the focus shifts from

overcoming resistance to adopting a more manipulative approach. For example, in an early study of this, it was found that the whole production maintenance department possessed coercive power for the simple reason that they were the key people on whom the production line depended (Crozier, 1964). In another investigation it was found that in a college, the department handling research grants gained power because of their expert knowledge pertaining to obtaining much sought after funding (Pfeffer & Salancik, 1974).

Manipulation is another very complex type of power that builds upon the assumption that power can be exercised covertly, i.e. by reaching compliance without involving coercion. It is usually exercised through social networks and informal techniques (Fleming & Spicer, 2014). That is, manipulative power extends the idea of one person making another do something that the other would not do otherwise, to a focus on more subtle instances such as where the first person is creating a situation around the other that limits this person's choices or prevents his or her influence on the former (Lukes, 2005). While power is exercised amongst parties (e.g. boss versus employees, management versus a certain group and between two persons or groups), where either of the parties is making the effort to overcome a problematic situation caused by or inducing desirable effects in the other, manipulation covers from one party necessarily influencing the other to do something, to the situation where the other party is prevented from doing it (ibid). For instance, studies in this area have revealed that it is not only those in leadership positions who can influence others, but those who share their social network with them can also gain the ability to influence others (Sparrowe & Liden, 2005). Hence the relative position of the individual within the social network can define their perceived influential power (Brass, 1984). Moving to consider informal techniques of influence, one empirical study illustrated the perceived power of the purchasing agents who gained power in the eyes of others due to their knowledge of purchasing, which in turn helped them to play a key role in organizational decision making (Spekman, 1979). This, in turn, conveyed manipulative power upon the purchasing agents (as boundary role persons) who were gatekeepers in times of severe material shortages and channelled their knowledge in ways more favourable for them than for others. Therefore networks of interpersonal relationships (Kilduff & Brass, 2010) where people accept or discard power roles (Raven, Schwarzwald, & Koslowsky, 1998) or 'in-group' relations have been demonstrated to facilitate manipulative power (Sparrowe & Liden, 2005).

2.3.2. Systemic power

While episodic power assigns power to hierarchical roles and various social networks, and conceptualizes it as exhaustible and a finite resource which is necessarily driven by individuals or groups towards others (Hardy & Clegg, 1996), systemic power relations pertain to more implicit types of power that are embedded in social systems (Fleming & Spicer, 2007, 2014; Foucault, 1977). Domination and subjectification are the two types of power addressed. The two are closely connected and the former concentrates on the ideological and structural aspects of power whereas the latter speculates about the subjectification of individuals to established structures and ideology (Fleming & Spicer, 2014).

Domination

Scholars investigating domination in organizations mainly focus on the ways ‘power can shape the normative climate of the organization to make its socially constructed reality (or its intentional change) seem inevitable and natural’ (Fleming & Spicer, 2014:260). This is more subtle than the episodic power relations explained above, and while pursuing efficiency and productivity in the workplace, domination may be deemed by the management as the most suitable way to run their organization (ibid). That is, domination is sustained by organizations as it provides an unobtrusive method of exerting power that is intertwined with everyday practices (Gordon, Clegg, & Kornberger, 2009). Thus, individuals are embedded in a complex system of power relations, and

‘bound by a whole world of normalcy: hierarchy; rigid rationalities; domination experienced as authority; and everyday work as a complex of mechanisms in which we strive to amass the resources, pull the levers and thus exercise power’ (Clegg, Courpasson, & Phillips, 2006:229-230).

Some previous empirical studies suggested that even seemingly individualistic, flat and flexible organizations benefit from exercising domination (Courpasson, 2000; Gordon et al., 2009). Following Weber’s lines of thought, Courpasson (2000) argued that employees in organizations act towards the norms that sustain domination because this is perceived to be the most efficient way of operating. His study advocated the combination of the decentralization of work forces and

centralization of power, i.e. domination was promoted as a successful way to run business. Furthermore, the so-called soft bureaucracy was proposed as an acceptable way of balancing autonomous and flexible work with the legitimacy of the political regime that imposes it (ibid).

While domination may seem to be the key to providing efficiency, empirical studies have illustrated that it serves as a means for moulding certain political interests. For instance, dominant power relations have been utilized by management to tighten their grip on lower management and shop stewards to remedy any loss of control over them (Edwards, 1987). This particular study revealed that the senior management introduced formal procedures such as reporting all negotiated deals and new health and safety procedures so as to reduce isolated decision making and to keep key problem solving functions within their managerial prerogative. However, it proved naive to assume that organizational control was uncontested because the members of lower management and shop stewards turned to more informal activities to overcome the constraints of the imposed formal procedures. This created a gap between official management procedures and the actual accomplishment of them, and, in this case, underlined the weakness of the management (ibid).

There are postmodern approaches applied to depoliticize dominant political actions such as Total Quality Management (Knights & McCabe, 1997), teamwork (Knights & McCabe, 2003), and organizational learning (Contu & Willmott, 2003; Vince, 2001). Such de-politicisation makes it difficult to resist control as under these strategies, the power intertwined with various strategic agendas does not only call for the performing of certain procedures but may also entail the recruitment of the soul of employees and forceful attempts to subjugate them (Fleming & Spicer, 2014; Knights & McCabe, 1997, 2003). However, there is evidence of subordinates questioning established unequal power relations (Dick & Cassell, 2002). This simultaneously challenges the claims that there is total inability of individuals to resist while reacting against various systemic structures, and celebrates their ability to shape and reshape their surroundings. There are empirical cases exemplifying how people's emotions have discouraged managerial efforts (Vince, 2001), and others showing how people seek to emancipate the self by imaging themselves as being only partially subjected to work-related activities (Alvesson & Willmott, 2002). This brings us to the last form of power in organizations: subjectification.

Subjectification

While the previous types of power relations pertain to established ideologies and dominant structures, subjectification investigates the personal aspects of the ostensibly free behaviour in organizations and assists us in looking at the ways in which ideologies and structures reach the inner selves of individuals (Fleming & Spicer, 2014). Organizational control therefore shifts from considering the dominant structures (for example, the management) controlling employees' behaviour to individuals managing their inner selves (Knights & Willmott, 1989). Contrasting with the previously discussed forms of power, such as taking advantage of coercive or manipulative ways of controlling employees, and domination of certain ideologies over others, subjectification is seen as a self-centred mode of control that is difficult to resist since the self itself is involved in its making. This mode of power subjugates individuals to organizational disciplines by tying them to their 'own identity by a conscience and self-knowledge' (Foucault, 1982:781). Under this lens, power relations are invisibly engrained in everyday organizational life to such an extent that they have become part of the taken-for-granted reality of employees, and the freedom of the subject is based on self-disciplined participation in everyday practices (Knights & Willmott, 1989).

The following empirical investigation illustrates how subjectification functions in the British Parachute Regiment. This study showed the ways in which institutional processes and the shared idealized view of an ideal paratrooper made army recruits subject to organizational ideals by their aspiring to the 'ideal self' which was in itself difficult to reach (Thornborrow & Brown, 2009). Institutional norms such as restricting entry to the regiment, suspicion and surveillance among recruits and storytelling of their experiences, made the recruits idealize the role of the paratrooper (ibid). First, they were dissuaded from joining the regiment, which made it an object of desire, and entry was granted only after a series of exhausting physical tests, which seemed a fair price to pay for the prestige of becoming a paratrooper. Second, certain 'normal' dynamics were established between the newly recruited and more experienced paratroopers. The experienced members would demonstrate the expected physical standards and legacy of the regiment's history, and by doing so, they performed both peer-surveillance among the experienced paratroopers and set the disciplinary standards for the new ones. In addition, this external subjectification and performance of the institutional norms was reinforced by self-reflection and

gauging of one's abilities against strengths of other's (Foucault, 1977). Third, all the success and failure stories shared among regiment members for instance, in person, on web-sites, in books and memoirs as well as documentaries, created legends about the ways ideal paratroopers should behave and reinforced the organisational norms. These stories helped paratroopers monitor each other and their inner-selves, and simultaneously they became the object of desire, looked up to by future recruits (Thornborrow & Brown, 2009).

Organizational control and subjectification may be pursued purposefully, but most of the time they can be enacted as a by-product of various work activities ingrained in everyday social processes. For instance, a meeting of the president of a large industrial company with all the middle managers to announce an upcoming re-organization exemplifies a case where the senior management unwittingly reinforced the subordinate identities of these managers (Alvesson & Willmott, 2002). These social processes represent the systemic set of relations ingrained in everyday work processes. In other words, organizational power relations constitute the established organization-specific systems that legitimize and justify particular knowledge claims (Willmott, 2013a). In the aforementioned case, although the managers were addressed as being independent, loyal and result oriented members of the company who were expected to carry out the re-organization responsibly, the format of the meeting, a one-way informative address by the president of the company, reinforced the managers' subordinate roles. Hence power and ways of knowing are directly intertwined with each other. The underlying idea of the power/knowledge perspective is that there exists discourse that defines the truth in an organization (Foucault, 1977). The people in organizations are subjugated to this truth and enact upon it, and by so doing, exercise power relations that sustain it as part of social discipline (ibid).

2.3.3. Power relations in the organizational learning literature

Similar to the organization studies literature, in organizational learning there are two broad approaches taken regarding power in the relevant literature. The first upholds the idea that power is a possession or resource, similar to the episodic approach described above. In the wide sweep of the organizational learning literature, power relations have been largely conceptualized in this form. For instance, Lawrence and his colleagues (2005) considered power as an intrinsic part of organizational learning, and, those individuals who initiate new ideas, and/or the powerful people who support the new ideas, can play a crucial role in promoting learning in organizations (ibid).

This view is founded on the premise that individuals possess power and use it when the necessity arises (Bunderson & Reagans, 2011). For example, senior leaders' abilities to influence the explorative, exploitative, and transformative learning processes, which are the key components of organizational learning (Waddell & Pio, 2014).

The second account of the effect of power on organizational learning is based on the assumption that power is embodied and enacted in social relations (Vince, 2001), similar to the systemic view of power discussed earlier. These social processes represent the systemic set of relations ingrained in everyday work processes, including power relations (Contu & Willmott, 2003; Vince, 2001). In other words, organizational power relations constitute the established organization-specific systems that legitimize and justify particular knowledge claims (Willmott, 2013b). This understanding of power relations is consistent with the Foucauldian concept of power/knowledge (Foucault, 1977), and this perspective is the one adopted in the rest of this thesis.

In systemic power relations, although domination and subjectification have been conceptualized separately, they are the two sides of the same coin; the former looking at the dominant discourses and taken-for-granted rules in organizations and the latter studying how individuals are subjected to dominant structures (Fleming and Spicer, 2014). This current research study is focussed on unearthing processes of subjectification, by targeting the dominant power relations exercised in organizations. Both the dominant power relations in the selected organizations and the ways people working there are subjected to them are investigated.

2.3.4. Is episodic power imaginably stable systemic power?

Having addressed the literature on episodic and systemic power relations, the possible relation between them is discussed. Above I stated that systemic power relations have been deemed suitable for use in this research and consequently it was argued that power relations are inherently unstable, open and lie within social relations (Willmott, 2013b). However, the question arises as to why people in organizations perceive power relations as stable and fixed. There are two interrelated explanations for this. First, part of the answer comes from Willmott's (2013a) critical assessment of the extant literature pertaining to organizational power relations. At first glance, the above literature discusses two separate stances regarding episodic and systemic power

relations, and researchers tend to choose one and fail to take into account the other (Willmott, 2013a). For example, following the first perspective, while conceptualizing power relations as a resource, its proponents argue that it is essential to look at the ways individuals acquire, retain and/or lose power (Anderson & Brion, 2014). These events usually happen in an arena within established structures and organizational hierarchies, where people play with perceptions of competence, work on self-enhancement and compete for the seemingly limited chances of being the winner (Pfeffer, 2013).

However, looking from the systemic approach to power, the concept of power/knowledge involves digging deeper into the essence of these constructs (Foucault, 1977). It challenges us to investigate these apparently fixed structures of power relations and ostensible powerfulness or powerlessness as social constructs that are built and supported by social interaction among people. From this position, the seemingly opposing view of power as a possession can be approached in a new light. That is, power can be considered as the product of shared knowledge (Willmott, 2013a). Under the episodic lens what is studied as a pre-given construct waiting to be discovered, can be discerned as an ongoing process of co-creation (Creed et al., 2014). A systemic view therefore probes the strategic use of people's autonomy, and moves from consideration of official management commands to what people actually enact in organizations (Creed et al., 2014; Fleming & Spicer, 2014). It would appear that the stability of power relations is guaranteed by 'value-imbued fantasies which act to represent particularities as universalities' (Willmott, 2013a:55) because what people do is engrained into everyday interactions, and people perceive the established social constructs as taken for granted.

Second, such fantasies are sustained by facilitating and maintaining certain knowledge claims that are legitimized by organizational power relations. In other words, value of these fantasies is imbued by systematizing certain knowledge claims and repeatedly protecting and supporting them. For instance, Creed et al. (2014) studied how certain knowledge around shame was sustained and reinforced in organizations. They linked social bonds, subjectification, and a person's sense of shame to explain the systemic characteristics of it. They conceptualized systemic shame as a disciplinary form of power and traced interested members (shamers), who were involved in shaming attempts (conceptualized as episodic power), to illustrate how the shared systemic knowledge around shame was kept intact (ibid). In brief, they concluded that 'the

ways we do things here' is actually reinforced by episodic attempts at suppressing transgressive behaviours that are potentially dangerous to the existing knowledge/power (systemic power). This resonates with the above argument of seemingly fixed episodic power actually being the fruits of systemic efforts of co-creation.

The following elaborates on the ways in which emotions affect organizational learning. It provides an overview of the theories pertaining to emotions on the organizational level. How organizational power relations and social emotions are enacted in organizations is addressed and attention is paid to the importance of the individual's inner views of organizations. The concluding section elaborates on how organizationally expected actions concerning individuals are encouraged by non-organizational unconscious emotions to provide an example of the social unconscious in operation.

2.4. Emotions

In the organizational learning literature, it is recognized that processes of learning are 'driven, inhibited and guided by different emotions, including fear and hope, excitement and despair, curiosity and anxiety...' (Antonacopoulou & Gabriel, 2001:444). There are various emotions that affect learning. For example, it can be accompanied by emotions such as: disappointment (Vince, 2002a), defensiveness (French & Vince, 1999), shame (Hirschhorn, 1988) as well as caution and blame that may block learning (Vince & Saleem, 2004) or on the contrary, imbue a sense of value, openness, and respect (Hirschhorn, 1988) which facilitate learning. Recent studies reported the potential importance of the seemingly negative emotion of disappointment, which may actually play a role in engagement with organizational learning (Clancy, Vince, & Gabriel, 2012). Emotions can also be modified, but some of them may be 'impervious to learning and can certainly oppose learning' (Antonacopoulou & Gabriel, 2001:445). Further, certain emotions are incapable of being influenced. For instance, people might not be able to change emotions such as suspicion, hate or love that they have developed towards certain individuals or suppress the emotions that repeatedly arise in particular situations (ibid). This happens because individuals' conscious emotional reactions are constantly fuelled by unconscious impulses (Frosh, 2001). That is, the above mentioned (uncomfortable) emotions such as shame, disappointment or fear may be (unconsciously) projected to others (Vince, 2006).

Recall that this study approaches organizational learning as a social process and focuses on emotions as the main mechanism that facilitates or discourages organizational learning. Such an attempt requires approaching emotions as a complex phenomenon. Since I aim to capture how individuals and groups learn during their social interactions as well as reveal how their unconscious regulates their attempts to learn, it is deemed necessary to cover a wide range of theories on emotions. The literature on emotions hails from the disciplines of organization studies, psychology as well as sociology. The main theories include: social emotions, psychodynamics, the emergence of group emotions, and the social unconscious.

Initially, the notion of group emotion is used to denote those individually felt but collectively performed emotions (Vince and Gabriel, 2011). The meaning of what is a group varies across disciplines, and groups may define: dyads of people, small groups, units and departments, organizations, industries, religious groups, age, gender groups, societies etc (Menges & Kilduff, 2015). In this study, the word group in the term group emotions refers to ‘a number of people that are connected by some shared activity, interest, or quality’ (Merriam Webster Online Dictionary, 2015). In organization studies, the term group, at the maximum, usually refers to organizational level gatherings (Menges & Kilduff, 2015). However, as this current study investigates how emotions are shared by the whole society may impact on organizational learning, the chosen dictionary definition of the group is adopted.

Four aspects of emotions are brought together in this study to provide an extensive overview of how individual and group emotions experienced in organizations facilitate or discourage organizational learning. First, social emotions are used to denote the focus of the study: feelings shared by and emerging in people of Kazakhstan. These emotions are individually felt but collectively performed (Vince & Gabriel, 2011). Since organizational learning is studied as part of social interactions in chosen organizations, it is important to stress that emotions are socially sensitive, i.e. emerge in relation to what others do. Therefore among many other types of emotions, such as hard-wired, basic emotions or performed or controlled emotions (Elfenbein, 2007), social emotions are taken on. Second, the psychodynamic study of emotions is employed to uncover unconscious and internally felt aspects. Studies that adopt a psychodynamic stance emphasize the richness of the inner world that harbours people's social views (Frosh, 2012). To reveal this a psychodynamics view is deployed to investigate social impacts on unconsciously

initiated feelings. Third, since I focus on the ways the ‘organization-in-mind’ of an individual impact on social processes, theories regarding how group emotions emerge are discussed in relation to different disciplines. Last, the social unconscious is used as a connecting link between the unconscious and the social, because certain feelings may be unconsciously inherent to individuals in a given context, and, more importantly, shared by the whole society and enacted in everyday communications (Weinberg, 2007).

2.4.1. Social emotions and organizational power relations

Along with being a personal account of one’s feelings, emotions are directed towards somebody or something (Elfenbein, 2007; French & Vince, 1999) because they are ‘bodily sensations as well as appraisals of some person, event, object or situation’ (Creed et al., 2014:278). Therefore, some emotions are located within social interactions (Livingstone, Spears, & Manstead, 2011) and power relations (Vince & Gabriel, 2011) and, as such, are context dependent (Barbalet, 2001; French & Vince, 1999). Since these emotions require the representation and appraisal of other people’s mental states, outside objects, events and situations, they are termed social emotions. There are various forms of these and a widely adopted classification depends on whether they are targeted at someone else or at the self (DeJordy & Barrett, 2014). Other-directed social emotions such as anger, contempt and disgust are emotions of displeasure with others’ actions and one’s reaction towards them (Haidt, 2003). Positively valenced gratitude refers to the quality of showing kindness to others’ actions and deeds (ibid). Alternatively, there are self-directed social emotions such as shame and embarrassment which are self-conscious examinations of one’s own behaviour, imbued with the feeling of not living up to other’s expectations (Haidt, 2003; Leary, 2000). Importantly, such self-targeted emotions are also considered social in a sense that one, for instance, feels shame because he or she is the object of painful feelings in relation to and/or in front of others. That is, these are the target’s internal responses to social norms, and when one feels ashamed, it is most probably felt as a response to breaching expected social norms (DeJordy & Barrett, 2014).

In organizations, social emotions intertwine with the collective efforts of organizing (Kent et al., 2014) that are exercised in a form of organizational power relation (Creed et al., 2014). For example, the felt shame and self-hatred of bisexual, lesbian, gay and transsexual (GBLT) Protestant ministers in two mainstream churches in the USA, can be seen as a reaction towards

the socially accepted views of ministers in terms of them being heterosexual (a normative pressure) and general societal preference for heterosexuality over homosexuality (Creed, DeJordy, & Lok, 2010). These social emotions were felt by the ministers, but the main reason for them feeling the specific negative ones was owing to their misfit with socially accepted norms; they felt ashamed of their status in front of other (heterosexual) people.

Another empirical study illustrated the emotional responses of women recruited to the U.S. Naval Academy shortly after it began admitting females (DeJordy & Barrett, 2014). Although formal changes allowed for females to join up, the hyper masculine social structures lingered inflicting various psychological pressures on these recruits. For example, graffiti on the door of the female bathroom, a converted disused janitor's closet, read 'Hang it up bitch!' was noted by researchers as illustrating the general attitude toward women. It was indicative of the established arrangements in the Academy and helpful for shedding light on how females felt about being in a not-so-female-friendly environment. First, the existence of this graffiti was interpreted as indirect bullying. Secondly, the taken-for-granted masculinity of the practical physical arrangements in the Academy was shown up by the fact there were no purpose built female bathrooms. Thirdly, a female lieutenant commander's response to the graffiti was to run away because she felt scared and to shed her tears in the company of another female recruit (ibid).

In addition, organizational power relations may encourage or discourage certain emotions. For instance, Kent and colleagues (2014) studied indirect aggression in a police department, and their empirical work illustrated that organizational power relations might encourage or discourage indirect aggression as well as, dictate to the victim the appropriate emotional response. In the case of an indirect aggressive act of sabotage, for example, hiding one's work phone or equipment, a humorous reaction or ignoring it might be organizationally encouraged rather than more negative emotions such as anger or annoyance (ibid).

Moreover, social emotions felt as a result of certain actions may define an individual's position toward organizational power relations. More specifically, anger may be a reaction that awakes resistance to certain organizational processes, whereas fear activates obedience, because one may be afraid of being wrong or being rejected by others. Shame may indicate compliance with social norms since the individual concerned feels that their action or thought does not fit with the organizationally accepted ones (Creed et al., 2014). Recalling the above mentioned cases of the

GBLT ministers and the female recruits, the emotions felt define their relation and reaction to the accepted norms (Creed et al., 2010; DeJordy and Barrett, 2014). Hence, the shame felt by the GBLT ministers' informs us of their desire to conform to norms while the self hatred felt by the female recruits tells us of their feelings about not fitting in with the Academy's norms (Creed et al., 2010; DeJordy & Barrett, 2014).

Organizational power relations do not only stimulate various social emotions, but also encourage individuals to take actions as a result of it. For example, the GBLT ministers decided to suppress their true identities. The emotions accompanying this struggle such as anger regarding being 'a horrible creature of God' (Creed et al., 2010:1350), embarrassment for being homosexual, and feeling of dishonouring their family if their identity became known, led them to manage a compartmentalized life. To hide their undesirable status so as to fit with a socially accepted view of their roles and for some, that of their religious beliefs, some individuals married opposite-sex partners (ibid). The felt shame that resulted from these ministers' efforts to reconcile their religious beliefs and social acceptance with their true sexual identities indicates the outcomes of their attempts to comply with organizational power relations. Turning to the study of the Academy, the felt fear of the female lieutenant upon sight of the bathroom graffiti was her immediate reaction to her stepping into an all-masculine environment where she did not feel welcome (DeJordy and Barrett, 2014). In both empirical examples, the attempts of individuals to bind their personal desires to prevailing power relations was accompanied by social emotions, which in turn impacted upon the way they acted.

The conclusion of the GBLT study illustrates the perseverance of human desire and individuals' capacity to reshape prevailing power relations, as over time, the ministers confronted the social structure by 'being the change they wanted to see in their churches' (Creed et al., 2010:1355) and becoming ambassadors for homosexual Protestant pastors. They changed from initially condemning and hating their God for creating them with a GBLT identity and gradually came to understand that the love of God embraced anyone, including them, the GBLT ministers. In this way the initial shame, self-hatred and other uncomfortable feelings turned into more pleasant feelings of love of the other and being at peace with themselves. Change in their understanding and interpretation of their world assisted in changing others' view on the matter and people began to accept homosexual ministers in some of the congregations. Such individual efforts and their

capacity to reshape the established norms urge us to pay close attention to the individual psyche. It can be contended that the contradictions within the self that were initially experienced by these individuals arose as a result of social endeavours. They inform us of the ability of human psyche to juggle countless experiences and persistently pursue individual agendas, in spite of organizational restrictions (Fotaki, Long, & Schwartz, 2012; Voronov, 2014).

2.4.2. Psychodynamic study of organizations

A psychodynamics perspective is deemed the fitting theoretical perspective from which to address the emotions in organizations and investigate the unconscious motives underling them. This perspective allows us to enter the inner world of the subject and helps to reveal the human psyche and the constitution of subjectivity as a means to understand how power relations are embodied and enacted (Butler, 1995). By doing so, this offers the possibility of understanding how embodied and mainly unconscious instincts impact on organizations (Fotaki et al., 2012). Under the psychodynamics approach, emotions are regarded not as a direct reaction to external causes, but rather as a complex response that has been ‘psychologically distilled’, and thus is sometimes unconsciously and involuntarily initiated (Carr & Gabriel, 2001; Vince & Gabriel, 2011). Moreover, past experiences define individuals’ current emotional responses and these might also easily change from one emotion to another, sometimes leading to contradictions between thoughts and feelings (Gabriel, 1998).

In the context of organizations, individuals interact without being aware of the ‘underlying factors that motivate their behaviour, nor are they in touch with the fact that their behaviour has a destructive effect on the organization. In fact, they often believe the opposite’ (Obholzer, 1999:87). That is, an individual’s inner world is influenced by many societal and organizational rules that are deposited as (unconsciously) embodied and hidden impulses and are discernible in everyday work dynamics. Meanwhile, the individuals in question remain unaware, most of the time, of their very existence. Under this optic, with respect to the concept of an organization, instead of interpreting it as a platform where we externalize our inner views, it has been proposed that it is more fitting ‘to conceive of our inner world as an arena in which we enact constellations derived from the organization as an externally presented object’ (Antonacopoulou & Gabriel, 2001:439). In other words, individuals in organizations have their own interpreted ‘organization-in-mind’ which is ‘an expression of emotional states that link the individual, his or her role in the

organization, with the dynamics that are characteristic of the organization itself” (Vince, 2002a:74).

The unconscious is hidden from our awareness but still is a dynamic process accessible in our everyday behaviour (Frosh, 2002). Even unwanted emotions that are usually repressed enter the consciousness by being disowned (Gabriel, 1998). The human unconscious is a self-caring mechanism that protects the bearer from uncomfortable feelings by unconsciously repressing or denying them (Frosh, 2002). The psychodynamic concept helps to move beyond the traditional and positive modes of organizational processes to consider emancipatory approaches by accessing and acknowledging unconscious emotions and unconscious defence mechanisms. For instance, projection is part of the self-defence mechanism in which a person attributes his or her sense of anger or other unwelcome feelings to another person (Frosh, 2002; Hinshelwood, 1991). Studies in the area have illustrated how managers can project their uncomfortable feelings of shame regarding a company takeover (Vince, 2006) or unwanted selves (Vince & Mazen, 2014) to their employees. This unconscious denial of one’s uncomfortable, painful feelings and their attribution to the other may develop into projective identification, which is a more complex unconscious process of enacting those attributed feelings. For example, person A, who ascribes his or her anger to the other, would act as if the other is angry, while the other, person B, in turn, who is not actually angry, does not understand (‘I am not angry, so why would you think I am?’) and acts in a surprised manner which would automatically assure A that his or her feelings are correct. If B acts angrily this means that there is projective identification, as B has reacted, conforming to the anger assigned by A (Hinshelwood, 1991). Introjection is the mirror image of projection whereby instead of getting rid of some unconformable feelings, one engages in the defensive action of unconsciously adopting the ideas and attitudes of others. One empirical study illustrated how projected controversial feelings introjected by the targeted persons may return the same feelings to the initiator or project to others (Petriglieri & Stein, 2012). These authors investigated the elaborate story of the Gucci family members who projected their uncomfortable feeling towards other family members, who in turn, introjected them and projected them further to other relatives. Other influential company members became entwined, eventually creating toxic relations that evolved into unpleasant illegal activities (ibid). Identification is another form of unconscious where an individual ‘takes in attributes of the people with whom she or he is in

contact, and is transformed as a consequence' (Frosh, 2002:57). Rather than being a direct defensive reaction, identification refers to taking up another's attributes over time.

Individuals and groups may adopt psychological defences against anxiety (Vince and Gabriel, 2011). Anxiety itself is widely defined as fear without an object and involves conscious and unconscious ways of fighting against it (ibid). Concerning the unconscious aspects, the efforts to get rid of anxiety can take the form of denial; 'this cannot possibly happen' (ibid: 340), or falling into a fantasy mood. As argued by Vince and Gabriel (2011):

'The unconscious is not merely part of a psychic reality which happens to be concealed from consciousness, but functions both as a space in which dangerous and painful ideas are consigned through repression and other defensive mechanisms, and also as a source of resistance to specific ideas and emotions which present threats to mental functioning... The unconscious is not marginal or pathological terrain into which we occasionally drift but a space that accounts for a substantial part of human emotion, motivation, and action'. (p.335)

There is no simple distinction between the psychic and the conscious, because every mental process is accompanied by unconscious fantasies¹, a constantly active unconscious realm that accompanies our conscious organizational decisions (Frosh, 2003; Hinshelwood, 1991). In sum, fantasy is not separate from reality, but rather, is the unconscious layer of it (Frosh, 2003).

2.4.3. How do group emotions emerge?

While the social emotions pertain to the relational aspects of emotions and the psychodynamic aspects focus on how the unconscious relate to the social, this following section elaborates on how different disciplines conceptualize the emergence of group emotions. In their extensive body of work theorizing group emotions, Menges and Kilduff (2015) investigated emotions across psychology, sociology and organization studies and provided four processes through which group emotions emerge, namely, inclination, interaction, institutionalization, and identification. They reported that each academic discipline tends to theorize around only one of the four. For instance,

¹ In the post-Freudian literature there is a tendency to spell conscious fantasies and day-dreams as 'fantasy' in order to differentiate them from unconscious psychological activities - 'phantasies' (Frosh, 2002), but in this study, since the word fantasy is used only in the meaning of unconscious psychological processes, it is spelled as 'fantasy'.

Menges and Kilduff (2015) argued that scholars in organization studies mainly use interaction as explaining the emergence of group emotions, sociologists use institutionalization and psychologists draw on identification. Each is discussed in turn.

First, it should be noted that the emergence of group emotions through inclination is defined as mainly based on individuals' inclination towards positive or negative emotions. Menges and Kilduff (2015) pointed out that amongst a group an averagely positive personality tends to affect others in the group making the whole group feel positive. It was reported that inclination was rarely used by any of the aforementioned disciplines.

Interaction is the second process of group emergence, and this features widely in organization studies (Menges & Kilduff, 2015). The process of transferring individual emotions to a wider group in the organization studies literature is referred to as emotional contagion. This is defined as 'a process in which a person or group influences the emotions or behaviour of another person or group through the conscious or unconscious induction of emotion states and behavioural attitudes' (Schoenewolf, 1990:50). The concept has been investigated in laboratory and field studies across a range of interactions. Individuals' personal emotions are recorded as having been transferred to others in a group in a number of studies, for example, from teammates to teams (Barsade, 2002; Totterdell, 2000), from health care professionals to patients (Barsade & O'Neill, 2014), and from managers and leaders to other employees (Huy, 2002; Menges, Walter, Vogel, & Bruch, 2011; Scott, Colquitt, Paddock, & Judge, 2010). Regarding this, the general pattern observed is that people subconsciously catch other's emotions and then view them as their own (Menges and Kilduff, 2015). This process is argued to be occurring through three main stages: mimicking, feedback, and contagion (Hatfield, Carpenter, & Rapson, 2014; Hatfield, Rapson, & Le, 2009). That is, initially, one subconsciously mimics another's facial expression, vocal tone and body language, and as a result of such mimicking he or she reflects the same feeling thereby feeding back his or her inclination toward the same feeling, and, consequently catches the other's emotion (ibid). Empirical studies show how, during interactions at work, various emotions transfer from individuals to the whole department (Barsade & O'Neill, 2014) and even to the entire organization (Menges et al., 2011; Scott et al., 2010). In addition, there are studies recognizing the role of other processes studying the emergence of group emotions such as: social comparison which refers to the conscious comparison of emotions with others in the same

situation; the role of emotional interpretation, which concerns an attempt to recognize others' emotions without necessarily appropriating them; and the role of empathy, or feeling the same by imagining what others feel (Barsade, 2002; Elfenbein, 2014). With respect to empathy, Hatfield and her colleagues gave a neuroscientific view of how empathy takes place through explaining how neurons in the brain fire at certain points, thus accounting for emotional contagion (Hatfield et al., 2009). In addition, sensemaking is recognized as a route for emotional convergence as through this, individuals similarly interpret organizational events and consequently experience the same emotions (Menges and Kilduff, 2015).

Third process that of institutionalization, appears in sociological theories (Menges and Kilduff, 2015). In emphasizing how emotions converge into group shared emotions, sociologists turn to emotional norms as well as rituals and routines for explanation. Emotional norms are emotions that are usually expressed and shared within a specific group. Certain emotions can be suppressed, allowed, preferred, or demanded in groups that are situated in specific contexts (ibid). New group members learn about the emotional norms by socializing with others, because violation of emotional norms may not be welcome and accompanied by shame and embarrassment (Goffman, 1959) if inappropriately handled. In some circumstances emotional norms apply in work situations, and during 'emotional labour' trained emotions are displayed (Hochschild, 1983). However, these emotions may not necessarily coincide with the real emotions felt by the members exhibiting them. Interaction ritual theories study how rituals and routines shared by members of a group can make people feel the same way. For example, Collins (2004) identified a sequence of rituals performed by group members in order to increase positive emotions. First, the members gather in one place and then greet each other in different ways to increase the shared mood. The greetings should be followed by rhythmic synchronization of talk and body movements (ibid). It is claimed that these rituals can be used to increase group solidarity and enhance communication among members (Turner & Stets, 2006). For example the ritual of morning shouting of cheers performed by employees in big organizations, have the function of keeping the workers' spirits high during work hours (Menges and Kilduff, 2015).

The last process of emergence is identification. This is chiefly drawn upon in the literature on psychology (ibid). Identification has for a long time been of central importance in psychology as it is used for representing the way people identify with others in the group to which they belong.

In psychology, intergroup emotions theory and appraisal theories of emotions focus on group identification. The former theory suggests that individuals who highly identify with the group to which they belong tend to experience emotions on behalf of the whole group, while advocates of the latter theory suggest that what people feel depends on the degree of similarity of their appraisal of emotions. This is believed to be changing and evolving over time, depending on interactions among people (Menges and Kilduff, 2015). When individuals identify with a group they tend to 'perceive and interpret events in terms of meaning relevant to the group rather than for individuals' (ibid: 877).

2.4.4. The social unconscious

Similar to conscious emotions, unconscious emotions extend to groups as people tend to internalize others' emotions, regardless of whether they are conscious or unconscious. In organizations, people internalize and share certain views or similar emotions toward others. For example, a study on the unconscious in organizations sheds light on the contagious nature of unconscious fantasies sometimes observed amongst front-line service workers (Stein, 2007). In this scholarship, the front-line workers, whose autonomy was undermined by being expected to listen to customer complaints and accept their criticisms without argument, developed the shared fantasy of their customer experiences being toxic. This happened because unpleasant encounters with a customer in combination with the emotional labour involved in being polite all the time developed into a defence mechanism of them seeing their customer contact as dirty, toxic or sick (ibid). Such imagined toxicity was later dealt with by the means of revenge and staff using various sharp jokes or even being hostile towards customers. Another study unveiled the process of projective identification that initiated and contributed to a toxic organizational culture (Petriglieri & Stein, 2012). These authors illustrated how the recipients of the leader's projections projected these uncomfortable feelings to others and such unconscious interchange of uncomfortable and unwanted feelings contributed to deepening the toxicity of relations. Moreover, the unconscious can probe beneath the surface of an apparently easy transformation in a workplace and assess the difficulties people face while being torn between two different realities they may face during the course of a transformation (Gabriel, 2012; Kenny, 2012). Such instances point out that, similar to individuals, organizations and groups also engage in ego defences such as denial, rationalization, idealization, and fantasy (Brown & Starkey, 2000).

Scholars have demonstrated that unconscious mechanisms extend to even larger groups such as communities and societies (Menges & Kilduff, 2015; Weinberg, 2007). Similar to the individual unconscious, the social unconscious is ‘out of space and timeless’, and ‘the members of a group are able to re-live and re-enact in the here-and-now relationships and pertinent emotions from the remote past’ (Weinberg, 2007:308-309). For instance, in the autobiographic study of an Israeli woman, the social unconscious was connected to the echoing childhood memory of Holocaust survivors. Further to this, a dramatic here-and-now event of not accepting offered Hanukkah candles was connected to the social unconscious of the Israeli people, to which she belongs (Biran, 2014). Another, less dramatic, but equally intriguing study along the same theme illustrates how the Israeli social unconscious became more discernible when the author himself travelled abroad (Doron, 2014). In his autobiographic investigation Doron (2014) unveiled that some words that are casually used in Israel may not be similarly accepted outside the country. This happened at an international conference in Serbia when he observed how one Israeli person used the word ‘holocaust’ in his speech implying ‘problematic or nightmare’ without noting that such a trauma-laden word would leave the listeners speechless. The audience did not expect this word to be used in such a way, not least uttered by an Israeli. By contrast, in Israel, the author argued, the word is commonly used, which is not obvious to non-Israeli audiences. At the same time, some Israelis remain unaware of the effects of employing such a loaded term outside of their country (ibid).

The social unconscious has been conceptualized in several ways. Historically, the concept is connected to Freud’s early studies of the presence of the social in superego, Klein’s study of external objects affecting the infant, Winnicott and Fairbairn’s notion of intersubjective space. Later was developed considerably by Foulkes and Elias (see Dalal, (2001) for an extended discussion). In recent work, Knauss (2006) stressed the importance of individuals and refused to use group terms such as the social unconscious or the group unconscious. Instead, he contends that the ‘individual’s unconscious is groupal’ (Knauss, 2006:56). At the same time, following group analytic and psychoanalytic roots, Dalal have stressed the importance of society and sought to dissolve the dichotomy between the individual and the social, as ‘the group, the community... and the so called inner processes in the individual are internalizations of the forces operating in the group to which he belongs’ (Dalal, 2001:543). Thus, the notion of the social unconscious draws on the psychosocial and relational aspects of human relations and refers to a ‘co-

constructed shared unconscious of members of a certain social system such as community, society, nation or culture' that 'includes shared anxieties, fantasies, defences, myths, and memories' (Weinberg, 2007:312).

The complex nature of the interaction between social and unconscious emotions as affecting organizational learning has been outlined above. The intention in this thesis is to investigate further the relationship between the two: emotions and the social unconscious. Moreover, the theoretical framework for this study is designed to incorporate the social unconscious shared by people in Kazakhstan. Before moving on to discussing the framework, the context of the study is presented.

2.5. The context of Kazakhstan

The chosen context, Kazakhstan, is worthy of investigation because the old (Soviet) regime lingers in the new organizations that are part of Kazakhstan's newly emerging free market economy. In addition, change such as this from one context to another can invoke reactions and is expected to be an emotional experience for those experiencing it. The transformation processes and the possible tension between old and new regimes provide us with an environment that is rich both in emotion and power/politics. Many existing empirical studies recording post-Soviet countries have characterized the organizational style in Kazakhstan as a mix of the old Soviet and new market economy styles (Minbaeva, Hutchings, & Thomson, 2007; Muratbekova-Touron, 2002). Some studies even suggest that, during the transformation, management structures and work style underwent very limited change (Schwartz & McCann, 2007). That is, post-Soviet institutions are places where old Soviet ways of running business paradoxically co-exist with new free market economy rules. In particular, scholars highlight that the structural and social aspects of businesses are still informed by the Soviet past which is deeply rooted in the social nexus (Minbaeva et al., 2007; Muratbekova-Touron, 2002; Schwartz & McCann, 2007; Schwartz, 2003).

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, organizations experienced enormous reforms that made the transformation period so challenging (Clarke, 2007). Post-Soviet organizations faced having to market their products while struggling with hierarchical management and managing their human resources. In the Soviet times, for example, sales departments were neglected, because the

whole supply chain was planned and organizations were not required to market their goods (Berliner, 1957). As a result, independent post-Soviet organizations have struggled with the supply and demand side of their business, for Soviet workers were hired with the ultimate goal of meeting planned targets and were trained and rewarded for achieving them. Accordingly, Soviet organizations paid special attention to their production and procurement departments, because they were important for fulfilling five-year plans: the former being concerned with delivering, on-time, the planned production quota and the latter with the delivery of the necessary raw materials, which was not always very well planned (Clarke, 2007). The free market economy, by contrast, requires competitive and creative employees to make highly marketable products, which, in turn, demands that a company use very different staff recruiting and training strategies.

The literature on post-Soviet Kazakhstani work relations is scarce, therefore, I refer to the literature on the transformation processes in Russia, because, Russia and Kazakhstan business cultures tend to share many characteristics (Muratbekova-Touron, 2002). As mentioned above, former Soviet states are undergoing the transformation from the Soviet planned economy to the market economy (Clarke, 2007), consequently experiencing similar challenges in organizational restructuring and other areas of business. Moreover, Kazakhstan has many similarities to the Russian Federation mainly because the territory of Kazakhstan was part of the Russian Federation (then the Russian Empire) from the 1730s. The Russian language is one of two official languages spoken by the majority of the population, sometimes as a mother tongue by ethnic Kazakhs. Moreover, 23.7% of the Kazakhstani population are ethnic Russians (Agency of Statistics of the Republic of Kazakhstan, 2009 census).

The remaining part of this section covers the following. First, the nature of Soviet formal and informal work relations is discussed as well as the genealogy of the Soviet subject formation, as these form part of the historical backdrop that informs current post-Soviet business relations. Next, a short account of the Kazakhstani economy, after the state gained independence in 1991, is discussed in terms of challenges the country faced in the early years of the transformation. Then I consider current organizational structures and work relations in Kazakhstan, and this sheds light on the ways in which long established Soviet relations have been changing under the pressure of free market economy rules. I conclude this section with an outline of the concept of ‘the decolonial option’.

2.5.1. The nature of Soviet infrastructure and the role of Soviet kollektivs

The Soviet organizational process had many similarities to its capitalist counterpart, however, unlike the latter, it did not pursue profit maximization (Clarke, 2007) as organisations worked to meet the terms of central government five-year plans and fulfil planned quotas. The management efforts of Soviet organizations revolved around the production department, because fulfilling the planned production was the ultimate goal of an organization and not meeting the plan had serious consequences for all involved (ibid). Another fundamental difference was that the raw materials used in production were centrally allocated, but individual organizations were responsible for securing the supplies and delivering them to the production plant. Delivering the five-year plan within the formal structure was a challenge and as a result, instead of questioning this structure, which was considered an unthinkable risk, organizations relied on informal networks to achieve their ends (ibid). Hence, generally, the formal management structure of such organizations was created to meet the planned production regime (Berliner, 1957; Nove, 1977), and informal networks were employed to deliver the supplies to the production plant (Clarke, 2007). That is, each department in an organisation informally solved its problems by communicating with the necessary people while the general director and members of a supply department were responsible for maintaining external communications and ensuring the timely delivery of supplies to the plant. It has been extensively documented that there were certain employees, unofficially called *tolkachi* (pushers), who advanced the interests of organizations, and sourced and delivered supplies that were in short supply (Berliner, 1957; Ledeneva, 1998). The middle managers and foremen, in turn, kept workers motivated and ensured a smooth work flow. Every brigade was responsible for their piece of work and was expected to do whatever was required to meet their quota (Berliner, 1957). Thus, employees in the Soviet regime had extensive responsibility and autonomy regarding meeting the terms of the production schedule. By contrast, they did not have much power, with their autonomy being regulated by the prevailing norms, and curtailed by the knowledge that satisfactory performance was paid back in bonuses as rewards on top of basic wages.

The Soviet workplace played an important role in the establishment of Soviet society and it was through kollektivs – the group of people working together – that the Party promulgated Communist ideas. The Soviet Union was a large country established as a result of different

political clashes between several powerful groups and consisted of many separate republics, some of which were brought together by force or through agitation and social movements.

Historically, the Marxist ideology was originally designed to replace an existing capitalist system. However, when the Soviet Union was created it replaced the Russian Empire which had been built on a feudal economy and the other republics that became part of the newly established Soviet Union were lands that were similarly far from being capitalist in nature. When the socialist state was imposed on pre-capitalist societies, such as Kazakhstan, contrary to Marxist theory, there was no social or economic infrastructure to support the rolling out of the ideology. Further, rather than adjusting to the realities of the existing context, the state leaders deployed their aggressive leadership style to adjust and match existing possibilities to what ideally should have been the situation. This meant that they used aggressive economic and ideological strategies to make the country function and to this end, they employed the Soviet workplace, the cradle of Soviet ideology, to exercise control. The kollektivs became a key tool for furthering Soviet ideology. At the inception of the Soviet Union and especially during the years under Stalin, Soviet ideas and the fulfilment of five-year plans in the kollektivs were mainly driven home by the threat of court punishments for wrongdoings and misdeeds but in the years following Stalin, in the mature Soviet society, the leaders of the Communist Party introduced softer methods of delivering social admonition through kollektivs. The courts as a means for punishment were replaced by kollektiv-level admonitions, ‘because evil deeds are committed by people most of whom are members of one or another kollektiv.’ (Kharkhordin, 1999:298) Inter-kollektiv surveillance of possible wrongdoings where members of the kollektiv watched each other deemed to be the way to exercise effective control, as mentioned in one Nikita Khrushchev’s speeches:

‘We have 10 million Party members, 20 million Komsomol² members, 66 million members of trade unions. If we could put all these forces into action, if we could use them in the interests of control, then not even a mosquito could pass unnoticed’ (Kharkhordin, 1999:299 quoted from Khrushchev’s ‘Building communism’ book from 1964).

² A youth organization controlled by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

This illustrates how, in the mature years of the Soviet Union, all members of the Communist Party, which included the vast majority of working adults, were involved in controlling each other and the terror of the Stalin times was efficiently replaced by peer pressure. This was duly noted in the book of the Harvard Professor of Soviet and Russian law Harold Berman, as he opined ‘one is free from arbitrary assault by the secret police but one is not free from the social pressure of the collective’ (Berman, 1963:88).

Collectivism had been imposed on the structure of Soviet organizations and thus everybody was supposed to be a member of a kollektiv. That is, because collectivism was the main ideological tenet, and every single individual was encouraged to become a member of a kollektiv, i.e. a member of the Communist Party. Only those who did not share the views of the Communist Party were left out, and were assumed to be against the party (Kharkhordin, 1999). ‘Alienated collectivism’ and ‘authoritarian paternalism’ are terms that have been applied to describe the characteristic features of Soviet society (Ashwin, 1998; Clarke, 2007). In detail, collectivism was alienating in the sense that kollektivs were not self-organized groups of people who determined their own goals and how to achieve them, but rather they were the opposite; a forced mechanism to which they were subordinate (Clarke, 2007). With regards to the paternalism of the Soviet system, this was not necessarily connected to the privileges and legitimacy of the hierarchical structure, but rather referred to the care and concern managers informally showed to their subordinates (ibid). In fact, it was common practice for ordinary employees to express their concerns with their work or personal issues in front of their general director, who would consider these matters and address them accordingly. In sum, although this Soviet form of paternalism had positive aspects, it was, by extension, part of the apparatus of social control.

2.5.2. Genealogy of the Soviet subject formation

The role of a kollektiv in the workplace was highly significant, and the well-being of its members depended on their ‘participation’ in it. Kharkhordin (1999) in his in depth study of the kollektiv life in Soviet times discussed several practices regarding an individual’s role in them. For instance, the distribution of resources among kollektiv members was carried out by those identified as ‘the aktivs’, who were also responsible for surveillance and handing down correction when deemed necessary. However, the majority of the members, ‘the passivs’, belonged to the socially passive part of kollektivny (ibid). Achievements and statuses were

assigned and social and welfare packages were allocated within the kollektiv. The personnel (human relations) department worked with the members of a kollektiv to 'normalize' everyday life in an organization. This was done by encouraging them to observe each other closely and in the case of a 'wrong-doing' report it to other members in order to punish collectively and/or counsel the wrongdoer. Oblichenie was a routinized and ritualized form of formal confession of one's misdeeds in front of fellow kollektiv members (ibid) and mistakes by members were prosecuted by the mutual agreement of the others. All the acquaintances of a defendant, including their neighbours, were encouraged to be present at this public shaming process, so they were aware of the situation and able to 'help' the defendant to become a good citizen in the future. Otherwise, the authority would punish the whole kollektiv. In sum, oblichenie introduced 'a specific Soviet kind of individual, formed in the public gaze of his or her peers' (ibid: 356). The mutual surveillance and the horizontal control of society were usually enforced by preventive actions, because it was thought that preventing rather than punishing was more effective (ibid). Committees, such as the party-state control, the people's patrol and the comrade's court members, initiated preventive actions against future crimes. This meant patrol and court members encroaching into the private lives of individuals in order to detect anything suspicious and to detain and/or admonish them. This, naturally, made people very cautious of anything they did (ibid).

Even though a kollektiv appeared to function for the benefit of the whole collective, as it was an alienated and imposed collectivism, the informal side of life was not so collective (Ashwin, 1998; Clarke, 2007). Rather the opposite was the case as every member sought individual recognition, because resources and wages were allocated for the whole kollektiv and divided according to the individual performance of a member. Hence, every member made sure that others did not get more than they deserved. This applied to wages and among other things, to vacation vouchers, summer camp vouchers for children, and various career development training programmes. It was important to demonstrate how good one was in front of the other members of a kollektiv, especially the active members, who allocated the benefits. Soviet people were encouraged to practice otlichie, or, in other words, differentiate themselves from the others and be recognized for it. Hence, concern with one's external appearance was more pressing than internal self-advancement. In fact, formally, the party members were encouraged to develop their inner-selves rather than their outer appearance. It was widely promoted that the aim of the Soviet people was

to serve the values of the community they belonged to, i.e. those of the Communist Party. That is, every Soviet individual was responsible for engaging in self-programming and finding the very 'aim' of their life (Kharkhordin, 1999).

In general, all the members invested a lot in their kollektiv: they went to meetings, travelled on business trips and attended kollektiv-administered parties. Over time people spent growing amounts of time with each other, the 'kollektiv life' of a person permeated private life, and such relationships made the members tightly connected (ibid). Consequently, kollektiv members did not only know each other well but also unconditionally defended each other from the calumnies of outsiders. If anybody outside the kollektiv expressed a negative opinion about another member, his or her colleague protected him or her unconditionally, and proved that there was a misunderstanding. The defending person usually was shown to be right, because, indeed, she or he knew everything about the person in question. Another feature of kollektiv was that members were tolerant toward each other and established authentic and open communication, because they knew each other very well in all aspects of life. In sum, patience, trust and unconditional support shared among kollektiv members made kollektiv the main driving force of any Soviet organization.

2.5.3. From the Soviet era to independence - a short overview of the Kazakhstani economy since the 1990s

When the Soviet Union collapsed, among all fifteen Soviet republics, Kazakhstan was the last country to proclaim its independence, and in December 1991 the newly independent Kazakhstan started the transformation to a free market economy. There are several favourable conditions that underpinned the country's efforts towards implementing the free market. First, Kazakhstan is a mineral rich country (Pomfret, 2006), and the vast oil and gas reserves alone were enough to attract foreign investors (Blackmon, 2007; Rumer, 1996); second, households were ranked as being middle-incomed among the fifteen former Soviet Union republics, which placed, in terms of wealth, the average household in Kazakhstan above any of the other Central Asian states, such as Kirgizstan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and Turkmenistan, although below the Baltic states and Russia (Alexeev & Gaddy, 1993; Broome, 2010); third, Kazakhstan as in any other post-Soviet, state inherited people with high levels of general education, and with approximately a 99% literacy rate (Rumer, 1996) throughout the country.

These favourable conditions however were overshadowed by the fact that Kazakhstan found itself cut off from smoothly running production processes. The most challenging aspect of the initial years of independence was that Kazakhstan's infrastructure was not built with regards to the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic's (KazSSR) own territory but instead, the borders of the USSR. One example is the oil and gas sector which was tightly bound to Russia. These fields of natural reserves are situated in the west of the country and what was extracted in the KazSSR was processed in the territory of Russian Federation whereas the oil and gas extracted in Siberia was processed in the refineries of North Kazakhstan (Blackmon, 2005; Broome, 2010). This infrastructure was beneficial in the Soviet times owing to the 6846 kilometres (the longest continuous border in the world) of shared border between the Russian Federation and the KazSSR³, which meant that pipelines were built following the shortest possible routes between extraction and processing plants. However, when the country became newly independent, the sector grew to a complete halt, as there were no pipelines connecting the oil and gas fields with the refineries within the country (Blackmon, 2005). Although the political and economic dependency on Russia was apparent and undeniable (Rumer, 1996), the government also turned to sources of international support in addition to continuing to pursue close relations with Russia.

To encourage international support, legislation was reformed, terms favourable for foreign investment were introduced and international consultants were recruited to advise on foreign direct investment and give assistance on other issues arising from the new market economy (Dave, 2007; Blackmon, 2005). Generally, in terms of the development achieved during the years of transition, thanks to high levels of investment in mineral resources and associated industries, as well as diversification of the economy, present day Kazakhstan 'boasts the highest standard of living and per capita GDP in Central Asia, second only to that of Russia among all Soviet successor states' (Dave, 2007:4).

Other efforts to adopt the market economy were marked by undertaking considerable investment in improving the education system to match the market economy requirements. For instance, local universities started international management and business programmes, several of them using English as the medium for delivery and to which international scholars were invited. Moreover, various international stipends given to young people to study abroad offered them

³ The Republic of Kazakhstan is the ninth largest country in the world with a total area of 2,724,900 sq.km

enticing possibilities of competitive salaries when they returned to work in Kazakhstan. One example is the Bolashak (translates as ‘future’ from Kazakh) stipend. This is a full scholarship offered to high-performing students to study overseas on the condition that they return and work in the country for at least five years (Orazalin, 2014; Orazgaliyeva, 2014). The most popular destinations are universities in the UK, the USA, Canada, Russia and China and graduates from these overseas programmes return to work in various sectors of industry. Their knowledge gained whilst studying and researching abroad continues to contribute to the transformation of the country to a market economy (Orazgaliyeva, 2014).

2.5.4. Kazakhstani management structure

Following the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the planned system was destroyed and rapid reforms carried out. Where the new free market economy guidance was lacking, it was compensated for with what remained of the old system; for example, the informal relations that functioned in the Soviet times often served as a foundation for post-Soviet business relations (Clarke, 2003). This created a specific post-Soviet capitalist style. The current Kazakhstani organizational structure is characterised by continuity in the traditional informal and discretionary nature of work relations (ibid), employment of Soviet strategies to retain the workforce (Morrison & Schwartz, 2003; Schwartz, 2003), and reliance on collectivism and a paternalistic structure (Ashwin, 1996). These continuities support the view that the complex social relations inherited from the past have dictated to a certain extent the nature of current business management in post-Soviet countries. The prevailing management has been described as a rigid vertical structure, rather bureaucratic in nature and embodying a general ‘no trust’ working culture (Minbaeva et al., 2007). One French manager with considerable working experience in the former Soviet countries reported the following about the hierarchical rigidity she found in the country: ‘if you take a social group in France: you find, let’s say, seven levels of different social relationships. In a social group of the same size in Russia there would be a hundred, and in Kazakhstan – a thousand’ (Muratbekova-Touron, 2002:225). In her study, Muratbekova-Touron (2002) further highlighted the intricate and subtle hierarchy-based nature of work relations in Kazakhstan. In addition, she claimed that the rigid hierarchical structure inherited from the Soviet Union could not provide flexibility (ibid). Moreover, the inability to question systemic mistakes or rendering them too difficult to change, would often be compensated for by replacing the key person with

another employee who could apparently cope with the problems, at least temporarily. In other research it was concluded that the process of transformation to the new market economy was complicated by ‘the Soviet tradition of reducing all systemic problems to personnel problems’ (Clarke, 2007:225). The rationale for this was that the Soviet system was beyond criticism and thus, even for deep structural problems, the individual who was most involved was blamed and punished.

From a slightly different perspective, considerable changes in many areas of business have been commented upon. For example, the role of human resources management has changed and shifted away from being a Soviet-style administrative backup system mainly dealing with paperwork, responsible for the hiring of people (Clarke, 2007) and has emerged as a fully fledged management unit taking care of employee training and other activities (Minbaeva et al., 2007). It is reasonable to say that other areas of businesses are also undergoing change similar to the human resources departments. Studies have identified notable differences between state-owned organizations, privatized enterprises and internationally owned organizations in terms of running their business operations. In particular, it has been reported that state owned enterprises tend to cling more to old business structures and ways of working than those privately owned and those with international affiliations (Minbaeva et al., 2007; Muratbekova-Touron, 2002).

Some recent studies have averred that businesses in Kazakhstan are continuing to pursue the free market changes whilst at the same time leaning backwards, acknowledging old and well-worn styles of operating (Abazov & Muximov, 2013). Regarding this, in the second half of 2008, the government reacted to the worsening business situation in the country with aggressive measures involving nationalizing the banking sector and subsidizing the construction sector that had stopped functioning as a result of the crisis (ibid). This demonstrated the government’s reaction to social disturbances and mass protests that occurred after the construction of residential houses stopped. Abazov and Muximov (2013) argued that after this, in the post-crisis period, economists and government officials returned to encouraging the national economy which mainly comprises small and medium sized enterprises and fostering modernization ‘from below’ in contrast to the Soviet style of giving orders ‘from above’ (Esentugelov, 2011). Moreover, building market oriented human capital capable of driving small and medium enterprises was pursued by adopting appropriate educational policies which include seeking co-operation with foreign educational

institutions (ibid). In sum, Kazakhstani management culture is perceived to be collectivist in nature and considerable effort has been made to adopt the rules of the market economy. Nonetheless, people in organizations have not lost some of their habitual Soviet ways of managing and being managed (Morrison & Schwartz, 2003) while the government continues to keep a watchful eye on the economic changes being rolled out in the country (Abazov & Muximov, 2013).

2.5.5. The decolonial option

Lastly, given the history of the focal country, Kazakhstan, in the following section I acknowledge ‘the decolonial option’ (Mignolo & Tlostanova, 2008; Tlostanova, 2012) as the nuance to take into consideration while engaging with the context. As explained in the following chapter, I have adopted a relativist ontology and interpretivist epistemology for this research endeavour which assumes that the truth is socially constructed by the members of the group or society under investigation. This subsection highlights the main distinctive features, namely the historical circumstances underlying the current situation in the country that define the truth to be investigated. The context of the study, the Republic of Kazakhstan, is an independent state, yet, as mentioned above, historically the country became part of the Russian Empire in the 18th century, joined the Soviet Union in 1920s, and achieved independence after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. However, the colonial situation in the country did not cease to exist with the collapse of the Soviet Union. My approach to the relation between coloniality, knowledge and learning in my thesis is one predicated on the understanding of the coloniality of knowledge, i.e. with respect to the production and consumption of knowledge. As Grosfoguel (2008:96) states, the colonial situation is the ‘cultural, political, and economic oppression of subordinate racial/ethnic groups by dominant racial/ethnic groups’, and for the purposes of this thesis, in Kazakhstan the Kazakhs are deemed to be the subordinates, whilst the dominant ethnic groups are the Russians.

This researcher sets out to investigate organizational learning in Kazakhstan, which is considered not only as an independent country but also treated in a manner that incorporates the colonial sense described above. More specifically, this refers to the shadow of the Soviet times that lingers in current thinking; this is the deeply embedded duality in people that portrays the state of transformation. This combination is consistent with the idea of the decolonial option which shifts

away from adopting postcolonial approaches to studying societies, i.e. considering states that have a colonial past only through the lens of western-born theories, and moves towards decolonizing knowledge, by bringing forth local views (Tlostanova & Mignolo, 2012). This decolonizing perspective challenges the tendency to use a so-called ‘objective’ view of reality that draws on theories and assumptions from one part of the world and applies these to another, for it advocates the study of local communities within a global framework (Grosfoguel, 2008; Mignolo & Tlostanova, 2008). The mainstream postcolonial notion fails to do justice to local views and to capture local reality from its own particular angle (Mignolo & Tlostanova, 2008). The decolonial option, which is pursued as the prism through which this research is carried out, presupposes that reality is not only socially constructed by those who inhabit the society of interest, but that the socially constructed systems of meanings are context dependent and are the outcome of both intersubjective processes (Hollway & Jefferson, 2000) and the distribution of power through the world system (Grosfoguel, 2008; Wallerstein, 1974).

2.6. The Theoretical Framework

In this section three intersecting ideas taken from the extant literature are combined to explain how the social unconscious underlying social and unconscious emotions and systemic power relations impact on organizational learning. First, it is proposed that individuals internalize and (unconsciously) reproduce organizational power relations. Further, it is proposed that the social unconscious underlies organizational power relations and emotions. That is, wider societal unconscious components are brought to the organizational scene through the concept of the social unconscious (Weinberg, 2007). Third, I argue that in the workplace, the dynamics between the social unconscious, emotions and organizational power relations influence organizational learning. These three propositions are further discussed below.

2.6.1. Individuals internalize and (unconsciously) reproduce organizational power relations

The interrelation between individuals and power relations is reciprocal (Clegg et al., 2006) because systemic power relations are embedded in our everyday life and voluntarily reproduced (Foucault, 1977). As part of power relations, people at work share practical rituals, such as handshakes, calling someone by their first name, and in general, perform ‘the way we do things here’ (Vince & Gabriel, 2011) by employing all the mechanisms that are normal for the context, are

intertwined to 'the way we do things here' to which individuals are subjected. Such organizational norms create the organizational self of the subjects (Rabinow, 1991:351), and give them the possibility to 'secure their own meaning, identity and reality' (Knights & McCabe, 2003:1593). The subjects establish themselves by assessing and adjusting their own behaviour against the organization-wide norms (Thornborrow & Brown, 2009).

While organizational power relations can be interpreted as a mechanism to which individuals are subject, the question may arise regarding how individuals voluntarily reproduce them. Butler (1995) highlighted the role of human psyche and human consciousness in subjecting individuals to power relations. As subjects, we are influenced by organizational power relations, but, simultaneously, while performing their responsibilities in organizations, through the decisions we make and in the way we talk to others individuals participate and shape organizational power relations (Butler, 1995; Frosh, 2003). Thus organizational power relations do not merely concern one-sided obedience to the rules, but are fulfilled through individuals shifting parameters by self-referencing (Thornborrow & Brown, 2009). Butler (1995) claimed the process of the reproduction of power relations is deeply seated in our consciousness and dictate the righteous of one's motives, and such a connection guarantees the acceptance of those organizational rules and acting according to 'the ways we do things here' (Vince & Gabriel, 2011). The belief in the power relations empowers individuals to act upon them in a way they believe is the best, and by doing so, assure their taken-for-grantedness. Organizational power relations are only one of the many things that individuals internalize from the society in which they are embedded. This connects them to distinctive dispositions or *habitus*, which is 'embodied history, internalized as a second nature and so forgotten as history' (Bourdieu, 1990:56).

2.6.2. The social unconscious underlies organizational power relations and emotions

The social unconscious (Weinberg, 2007) is conceptualised as an unconscious construct underlying organizational power relations (Foucault, 1977) and shared emotions. Individuals in organizations are part of the society in which they are embedded, and such inherent societal habits accompany our organizational actions. I argue that the interaction between organizationally expected habits and the social unconscious defines the dominant power relations, which in turn give way to various emotions surrounding how things should be. That is,

everyday organizational interactions of individuals provide the milieu where the internalized power relations, emotions and the underlying social unconscious come into play.

Thus, I argue that individuals' organizational abilities are inspired not only by organizationally expected habits, but also by the co-constructed and shared unconscious habits enacted by the individuals of a given society. The uncontrollable and unmanageable nature of the social unconscious merits attention because it could explain how the dominant organizational power relations are embodied and reproduced, while the emotions surrounding such actions regulate and encourage further actions.

2.6.3. The interplay between the social unconscious, power relations, and emotions determine the possibilities for organizational learning

The interplay between organizational power relations, the social unconscious and social and unconscious emotions defines possibilities and limitations regarding organizational learning (Vince, 2001). This are conceptualized in two interconnected ways. First, there exist organizational dynamics which can be referred to as a platform where individuals share and enact the embodied social unconscious, social and unconscious emotions and organizational power relations (ibid). Second, these interactions affect organizational learning. With respect to the first, through the psychodynamics lens, this connects to insights on how the 'organization-in-mind' (Hutton, Bazalgette, & Reed, 1997) develops and endures in everyday organizational life. The interactive dynamics between people, their emotional impulses, and the ways they exercise organizational power relations, are all internally influenced and enacted by individuals in everyday organizational dynamics, which is a platform where individuals interchange embodied emotions. Second, the interaction between emotions, the social unconscious and power relations establishes and sustains an organizational dynamic that is specific for an organization and accompanies all individual experiences (Frosh, 2002), including processes of learning. These processes consequently determine whether or not learning happens (Vince, 2001). This is because the ways in which bodily dispositions affect organizational learning are discernible in the individuals' emotions that hinder or inspire organizational learning.

2.7. Chapter summary

This chapter provides an overview of the literature on organizational learning, organizational power relations, emotions, and the context of the study. Organizational learning has been conceptualized as a social organic process full of positive as well as negative experiences and individuals seen to be learning intentionally or unintentionally during the course of everyday organizational life. For this reason, rather than focusing on the bare cognitive abilities of individuals, it is argued to accentuate their roles in the context in which they are embedded.

Next, two broad approaches, namely episodic and systemic power relations, have been discussed in relation to the organization studies literature. Both are extensively theorised in the area of organization studies with the latter best fitting the current study. The purpose of using systemic power relations in this research is that individuals learn through participating in prevailing power relations, interacting with others, and while acting to fulfil their job responsibilities.

The literature on emotions in organizations has served as the platform to argue that inner worlds of individuals and their social interaction with others can shed light on the ways organizations function, therefore this section focused on the social as well as inner aspects of emotions. In this regards, the social emotions are introduced to underline that emotions tend to be the reaction to outer forces such as another person or an event. The psychodynamic approach has been presented as offering a robust insight to the ways conscious as well as unconscious emotions impact upon organizational learning. The notion of the ‘organization-in-mind’ has been used to refer to an internalized view of an organization where individuals’ embodied emotions, underlying politics and power, and the social context, all come into play (Vince and Gabriel, 2011). The literature on the unconscious emotions shared by large groups and societies (Weinberg, 2007) has been addressed. The context of the study was discussed to provide a general view of present day organizations in Kazakhstan with a special focus placed on the Soviet past. This included reviewing how Soviet organizations functioned with the aim of shedding light on contemporary organizational processes. Lastly, the theoretical framework for the study has been presented.

3. Methodology

3.1. Introduction

This chapter begins with the philosophical assumptions guiding this research in terms of the ontological and epistemological foundations. Following an exposition of the data sampling process, a short description of the five selected organizations is introduced. Three different data collection methods were chosen for this study, and the next section introduces how this suits the philosophical assumptions of the study and addresses the research questions. Next, each of the data collection methods, namely, semi-structured interviews, photo-elicitation and reflexive diaries are explained and justified. The personal experience of collecting the data in Kazakh and Russian and translating them into English is addressed. A systemic inductive approach is used to analyse the collected data (Gioia et al., 2013; Langley, 1999). Following this, the steps taken regarding coding, interpreting and analysing the collected material are discussed, and a sample of data analysis is presented pertaining to one of the aggregate dimensions.

3.2. The Research Philosophy

A research paradigm is defined as a way ‘of examining social phenomena from which particular understanding of these phenomena can be gained and explanations attempted’ (Saunders, Lewis, & Thornhill, 2009:118). The choice of paradigm communicates the assumptions regarding the nature of reality (ontology), knowledge of the world (epistemology), and the approach that the researcher deems is most appropriate for investigating the phenomena of interest (methodology) (Burrell & Morgan, 1979). Ontology and epistemology are usually intertwined with each other and are not easily separable (Cunliffe, 2003), and yet there are certain epistemologies that complement a certain ontology. Moreover, there are philosophical approaches that incorporate and/or match with various epistemological and ontological views to explain certain phenomena. All of this adds to the complexity of the researcher’s choice of her philosophical stance. In order to explain this more clearly, I divide these issues into separate sections for discussion below.

3.2.1. Ontology

Ontology relates to the nature of reality, and it can be characterized as a continuum between realism and relativism. Theorists advocating realist ontology judge reality as being objective and independent of people, and they look for concepts and universal laws in order to explain phenomena. In other words, realism is defined as:

‘(t)he doctrine that an external world exists independently of our representations of it. Representations include perceptions, thoughts, language, beliefs and desires, as well as artefacts such as pictures and maps, and so include all the ways in which we do or could know and experience the world ourselves’ (Nightingale & Cromby, 1999:6).

The law-like generalizations that are discovered are confirmed by new research findings or falsified and replaced by new laws and postulates (Crotty, 1998). Realism is usually paired with positivist and post-positivist epistemologies. The aim of this philosophical approach is to describe the reality as accurately as possible in an objective and original fashion. However there are phenomena and concepts that cannot be verified or independently explained and judged (Buchanan, 2010). To deal with these, researchers move away from realism towards relativism.

The scholars who tend toward relativist ontology consider reality as being subjectively constructed by human beings and focus on how individuals interpret the world. This philosophical view assumes all points are equally valid and all truths are relative to the subjective view of the beholder (Buchanan, 2010). This approach refutes the existence of an absolute truth, and holds the idea that truth is relative to a certain language, culture, or group. These realities are socially constructed by the members of the particular group in question and rely on the systematic interpretation of the meaning among them (Gabriel, 2008). Realism and relativism have been presented as lying on a continuum which implies that there are many philosophies that exist between these two poles. Concerning this particular research, given the research question and the aim of the study, relativist ontology is deemed to be the most suitable.

3.2.2. Epistemology

Objectivism

Objectivism and subjectivism are the two main epistemologies used to identify the nature of knowledge. Objectivism is an epistemological approach underpinning positivism and post-positivism, and its advocates postulate that meaning is independent of human consciousness (Crotty, 1998). The phenomenon under investigation and the methods used for research are considered to be independent of the researcher, and provided that the correct procedures are followed, the validity and reliability of the findings are established (Johnson, Buehring, Cassell, & Symon, 2006). The requirement of non-interference by the researcher in positive sciences is based on the belief that knowledge is posited in something or is a 'given' (Crotty, 1998). Under this lens, knowledge arrives from discovering it, and does not engage the researcher for he/she merely performs the procedures necessary for unearthing it. Early positivists were closely linked to pure sciences and did not concern themselves with everyday experiences. Later, however, this purely positivist understanding has attenuated in favour of post-positivism, which questions the full verifiability of truth and human knowledge (ibid). Although the basic assumptions of positivism such as ontological realism and objective truth were kept intact, the post-positivists (including Popper, Kuhn, and Feyerabend) amended the positivist view and popularised it in the social sciences (Johnson & Duberley, 2000). This approach has adopted a more constructionist view of reality and uses qualitative as well as quantitative data. That is, instead of discovering a pre-given reality, these researchers do their best to prove reality as objectively as they can and establish the truth, although they acknowledge that this should be considered as only tentative in nature because it can be rejected or amended by others in the future (Crotty, 1998).

Subjectivism

Subjectivist epistemology rejects the existence of an external reality that is out there waiting to be discovered, because proponents of this contend that reality is created by human beings through their social interaction (Lock & Strong, 2010). Meaning and understanding therefore are socially constructed rather than readily discovered (Crotty, 1998). Subjectivism is a wide term adopted by many various schools of thought, with every school having their own variation of it. However there are common features shared by all. First, the subjectivists doubt taken-for-granted truth (Gergen, 1985). This approach asks us to be vigilant with regards to existing knowledge, and invites us to constantly question critically our taken-for-granted views over. Secondly, meaning-making is treated as a human activity, so whatever we know comes from descriptions,

explanations and understanding of human beings (ibid). At the same time, these social constructs are actively interchanged and sustained among people. Thus the social context in which we are embedded, for example, our family, colleagues and group mates, plays important role in affirming or rejecting what we know. Third, we construct meaning on our existing knowledge base, which in itself evolves over time (ibid). That is, what we already know matters, and it dictates, for example, the making sense of things but as this is an ongoing process, our knowledge and way we understand, changes over time (Lock & Strong, 2010). Subjectivism is usually associated with relativist ontology. However, there are approaches that employ either realism or relativism as their stance on reality; for example, transitive and intransitive dimensions of scientific realism (Bhaskar, 2008) or conceptual realism (Putnam, 1981).

Interpretivism

The epistemological assumptions underpinning this current study follow the subjectivist view. That is, it is assumed that knowledge is subjectively created and should be understood from the point of view of the individuals in organizations (Saunders et al., 2009). Interpretivism as the epistemology supporting this view is somewhat contrary to objectivist epistemology and seeks to understand and explain social reality by interpreting the social world we study (Crotty, 1998). In the words of Burrell and Morgan, this perspective ‘sees the social world as an emergent social process which is created by the individuals concerned’ (1979:28). Interpretivism is informed by the subjectivist epistemology and shares such principles as the essentiality of the social context and the value of human interactions, which tends to be individualising rather than generalising regarding the outcome (Crotty, 1998). This philosophy originally emerged as a method of interpreting and explaining sacred religious texts, and eventually came to be used to research ‘the deeper meaning in all texts and subsequently human actions, utterances, artefacts and institutions’ (Gabriel, 2008:128). Accordingly, the focus in such investigations is on how individuals negotiate subjective meanings of reality in the course of their everyday interactions (Burr, 2003) that shape their personal experiences and expectations, as well as the ways in which these have been consciously and unconsciously reinforced in their lives (Hollway & Jefferson, 2000). Instead of revealing already existing meanings, the aim under this lens is to concentrate on negotiating of the meaning and shaping of individuals’ experiences. The fundamental principle underpinning this approach is the hermeneutic circle that denotes the continuous process of

moving between the parts of the interpretation to the whole and vice versa, during the process of interpreting the phenomenon in hand (Gabriel, 2008).

There are two interrelated reasons explaining why interpretive understanding is in line with the position of my research. First, the interpretive mode of understanding recognises the process of transmitting meaning and takes into account ‘the intentions and histories of authors, and relationship between author and interpreter, or the particular relevance of texts and readers’ (Crotty, 1998:91). In this way, my research participants’ experiences and the context in which they are embedded are taken into account in a comprehensive manner. Secondly, this shared meaning between persons involved in the research make this study a practical endeavour rather than a mere theoretical investigation. My investigations go deeper than the research participants’ own accounts and move on to unearth the process of understanding and interpreting the concepts that have gone unnoticed by the participants themselves (ibid). Figuratively speaking, this is an attempt to investigate native speakers’ narratives and understand the underlying grammar of these.

The philosophical stance of my research is consistent with an interpretivist epistemology, however the main focus of it is on probing unconscious emotions; therefore it is necessary to acknowledge how psychodynamics fit with this choice (Hollway & Jefferson, 2000). Although the aim is to study the ‘organization-in-mind’ of research participants, their unconscious representations, and other internalized versions (Frosh, 2012) of organizational reality, this intention can be realized through making sense of social phenomena, namely, the way they relate to others in organizations, the way they claim they would behave in the examples they give in response to specific questions, and the ways they react to my photo-elicitation stimuli. Approached from this aspect, the unconscious is not a dormant domain but rather an active and dynamic energy that happens to be hidden from awareness (Frosh, 2002). The following part of this chapter outlines the methodological techniques that are employed to carry out the empirical investigation.

3.3. Data Sampling

3.3.1. Access to the field

Gaining access to the organizations where interviews are to be conducted is one of the obstacles any researcher encounters (Patton, 2002), and successfully accessing as many as five different organizations in this study had its own challenges. However, being from the country in which I located my research had its own advantages, for I knew the unwritten rules regarding access. In addition, my personal professional networks with former classmates, served in a similar way as old boy networks for opening doors to enter target organizations. Therefore, this researcher did not have to rely on the services of official gatekeepers (Easterby-Smith & Malina, 1999).

The time period initially pencilled in for carrying out the field work was not the one that actually transpired. Due to this issue, some of the contacts with whom I talked about access had changed their jobs by the time I was ready to carry out the study and it was no longer possible to use them. Once I had submitted my PhD transfer document and the date for the transfer viva examination was confirmed I was able to renew my engagement with potentially useful contacts. One suggestion made by my contacts was that I talk to the local Chambers of Commerce to help me find suitable organizations. However, drawing on my personal insight, I understood that sending an official letter would not result in much assistance because this approach did not match how things are done in Kazakhstan. Rather, the way to go forward was to cultivate personal contacts, so I sent several emails and made phone calls to former colleagues and classmates who worked in management positions asking for a help. This avenue looked promising, but the offers regarding access remained very vague as everybody involved wanted to have a personal meeting with me, which was not possible as I was located in the UK. Consequently, I kept all these possibilities open, promising these contacts that I would take forward our connection when I had completed my transfer examination.

There were at least five places I had noted as sites where I could conduct my research. My general aim regarding the choice of potential host organizations was to cover different types of settlements such as villages, small towns and large cities. I did not have a specific industry or type of organization in mind, which made my choices easier but since my focus is studying organizational dynamics, it was important that the selected organizations were large enough, so I

looked for those with at least twenty to thirty employees. Within organizations, I recruited informants from different departments including people holding various different roles. I paid attention to obtaining a fair mix regarding age and gender where possible.

In the Kazakhstani context, the key issue underpinning gaining access to an organisation was to find the person who personally knew the managing director or head of department or deputy director. In my case, several of my former classmates and personal contacts recommended me to the managing director or head of department. I had a meeting with my classmates or personal contacts where I presented to them my research and explained the ways I wanted to collect the data, nature of the interview questions and the type of organizations I preferred. After they understood the purpose of the research, we discussed some potential organizations where he or she had contacts. Then my contacts called their acquaintances in the potential research sites, and negotiated the access for me. If the contacts from the potential organization agreed to participate in the research, I received contact details and the deal could be considered sealed as I then approached the organization directly.

Both my personal acquaintances and the contacts from the organizations expressed a considerable degree of curiosity regarding me as a researcher from the UK and a good level of enthusiasm for my research in Kazakhstan as they supported me in including the country within the field of international academic research. In addition, I appreciated that there were not that many people researching these sites and hence, respondents were not tired of being asked questions by researchers, as is the case in many studies (Patton, 2002).

3.3.2. The five selected organizations

The sample was limited to five organizations in order to have depth of empirical data because generalizations in this research are made to theory and not to population (Saunders et al., 2009). Attention was paid to local social interactions and to probing phenomena from the ‘close-range’ (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2000). To understand the embedded organizational dynamics of each organization, seven to thirteen interviews were carried out in each site (Guest, Bunce, & Johnson, 2006). Preference was given to medium to large sized organizations so as to have access to a sufficient number of employees. Four of the organizations had 50 to 100 employees, whilst one had 300 to 500. As I aimed to investigate the social rules and habits exercised by locals,

interviewing Kazakhstani nationals was preferred to accessing any expatriate employees (Patton, 2002), if there were any in the organization.

In order to increase the chances of finding rich contexts and uncovering specific learning processes underlying the behaviours of organizational members, a purposeful sample of the respondents was made (Guba & Lincoln, 1985; Patton, 2002). Purposeful sampling is commonly used in qualitative research and is geared to finding the most suitable respondents from whom rich data can be garnered (Saunders et al., 2009). I chose appropriate respondents who met the following two main criteria; first, their having the ability to shed light on the issues pertaining to the main research question, which meant that the potential participant should have worked in the organization for at least a month and could elaborate on his or her organizational experiences, and, second, in order to provide information regarding the nature of organization-wide shared experiences, they came from a range of different departments. For instance, in organization one, the eleven research participants were selected both from the administration and teaching staff. I talked to the principal of the school, to one of the vice-principals, an administration officer, and a caretaker. Teachers included two elementary school teachers, and several subject teachers, such as those teaching history, mathematics, Russian and English languages, and physical training. Ten research participants from the second organization included the head of electrical support, the safety and the production managers, a supply officer, an AutoCAD specialist, the chief accountant who also had responsibility as the deputy director, two accountants, a shop floor worker, and the office manager. The thirteen research participants from organization number three included both the administrative staff and the reporters and journalists. I talked to the managing director, one of the deputy directors, a supply officer, two accountants, one of the editors-in-chief, two deputies of the editor-in-chief, a proof reader, three reporters, and a cameraman. In organization four, I conducted seven interviews. The research participants included two designers, two print shop officers, the supply manager, safety officer, and an electrician. In the last, fifth organization, I conducted ten interviews with six lecturers, one deputy dean, and three heads of departments (the detailed list of the research participants is given in appendix 1). The following provides a short overview of the selected organizations, the reasons they were selected and the specificities of gaining access and recruiting participants. The names of the organization have been protected by replacing them with a number. The number

accords with the sequence of the fieldwork. See Table 1 below for general details about each organization.

Organization one

The first site was a school located in a remote village and two reasons guided this choice. First, almost half of Kazakhstan's population live in rural areas and I wanted to have at least one of my selected organizations located in such an environment. Second, this particular school was one of the largest organizations in the village and potentially offered a range of research participants. In terms of access, I talked to an acquaintance who had worked at the school for more than three decades. He negotiated with the principal about the possibility of the school and its staff participating in my research. When I heard that my study had received the principal's approval, I went to meet him. In retrospect, I feel I could have approached the principal myself, but this directness was not in keeping with how such things should be done in Kazakhstan. For cultural reasons, one must be recommended by a middleman. To meet the principal of the school, I reported to the reception office adjacent to his office, waited for a short while, and then went into the meeting right away. The principal was happy to help me after presented my research and explained its aims.

In this setting I needed to approach personally the people I want to interview, which was a challenge but many were eager to be interviewed, especially by a PhD student from the UK who was visiting the village. There was no correspondence, such as emailing as all the interviews were negotiated by talking directly to the potential participants. Regarding this process, initially I went to the teachers' room, explained the reason for my presence to those who were there and asked if any members of staff were interested in participating in an interview. I sat there for a couple of hours so as to talk to as many teachers as possible. Because the room was a shared space many dropped in to pick up journals or meet other teachers. I negotiated appointments for carrying out the interviews with all those who agreed. Some wanted to have the interview right away, which was not always possible so I arranged appointments with them for carrying out the interviews at a mutually convenient time. Some teachers who initially agreed later dropped out of the study for various reasons.

Table 1. Description of the five organizations

Organizations	Number of employees	Location and size of the settlement	Public / Private
1. School	50 to100	A small village of less than 3000	Public
2. Window Manufacturing	50 to100	Provincial town of 200,000	Private
3. Media Center	50 to 100	Large city of 650,000	Public / privately-funded
4. Publishing House	50 to 100	Large city of 650,000	Privatized / private
5. University	300 to 500	Small town next to a large city	Private

Organization two

The second organization was a factory manufacturing custom-built windows located in a small provincial town. The access to this organization was granted after meeting with the managing director. The main challenge faced regarding access was obtaining this initial rendezvous. I had planned to conduct research in this town, and had enjoyed good contacts with a director of a different factory located in the town. Unfortunately, by the time I was ready to proceed with my fieldwork, my contact had changed his job. However, my contact referred me to his acquaintance at the local Chamber of Commerce.

After a telephone call with this person at the Chamber, who happened to be a head of department, I was invited to a meeting which resulted in him sending me to his deputy who was delegated to help me with gaining access to an organization. On each of these occasions I had to explain my story about what I was researching and how I came to be in that particular provincial town. The deputy director gave me the choice of several organizations, and I chose the window manufacturer as my first option. He made a telephone call to the managing director to ask on my behalf for permission to conduct the research. The managing director agreed and wrote down my name and settled a time for us to meet. Then I took the telephone number of the factory director from the deputy in the Chamber of Commerce, and we departed with an agreement that I would

go back to him if I needed access to any more organizations. In my subsequent meeting with the director of the factory I presented my research outline, explained its purpose and asked for permission to conduct ten interviews. He granted permission and since I wanted to interview people from both the factory and the administrative office, he asked the chief accountant to help me with these logistics. The chief accountant and I went through the administrative and the production offices where she introduced me to people and explained the purpose of my work. Later I re-visited the offices to recruit potential interviews.

Organization three

The third research organization was located in a city of over 650,000 inhabitants. I thought it appropriate to conduct research in a big city because often they can be a melting pot containing different people coming from different parts of a country and, as such, very different places from rural regions and small towns. In this location, I found one of my former classmates working in a management position and he helped me to gain access to organization three.

This organization was a media centre handling two newspapers and two magazines (in both Kazakh and Russian languages), and a small broadcasting centre that had opened just before I undertook my fieldwork. At the time of my study, the newspapers and magazines were small scale, topical periodicals; therefore each publication had around ten employees. It was a self-funded public organization publishing on behalf of one governmental department.

For gaining access, I was referred to the managing director of this organization by my classmate. My first meeting was with the managing director, who was happy to allow me to conduct research. He was recruited as the first research participant. Then I toured the offices with one of the employees from the administration, who introduced me to the journalists as well as the administrative staff members, informing them that I intend to conduct interviews. Later, as I became acquainted with people, I asked around if they wanted to participate in the study and arranged the interviews.

Organization four

Organization four was located in the same city as organization three. This was a recently privatized publishing house that had existed since Soviet times. In those days it had been one of

the many state monopolies, but as a result of present day competition and reductions in demand for published books, the size of the organization had decreased significantly. This organization was chosen because it had a long history covering both the Soviet times and the current transformational period. My initial access to this organization was through the good services of the managing director of organization three as organization four was the firm that they had employed in former times to print their newspapers and magazines. I was introduced to the chief accountant of this organization who granted access, and I was permitted to interview those who agreed to participate. The procedure for making interview arrangements followed a similar pattern to that through which I had gained access to the other organizations.

Organization five

The fifth organization, a private university, was located in the outskirts of a large city. Access to this organization was achieved through the kind help of a fellow PhD friend from Kazakhstan who studies in the UK, and had worked at this university. As I mentioned earlier, all the access negotiations were carried out, not through email, but by talking to people and this case was not dissimilar. My friend and I went to the university and approached the heads of several departments and asked for access. As usual, I presented my study to each of them and they were sympathetic towards me, as they themselves had experienced data collection and understood the challenges of accessing suitable research sites. Many lecturers, who were the former colleagues of my PhD friend, agreed to be respondents and we settled on convenient times for undertaking the interviews.

3.3.3. The unit of analysis

In this section I consider the unit of analysis chosen for this research and the unit of observation. The data for this research is generated through holding individual interviews, so there are two possible units of analysis: an individual and the learning process undertaken by an individual (Easterby-Smith, Crossan, & Nicolini, 2000). In order to justify the choice of the unit of analysis, I address the cognitive and process-oriented views to studying organizational learning. As discussed earlier, organizational learning occurs through individuals (Argyris & Schön, 1978), and the difference between the cognitive and process-oriented stances depends on the epistemological view adopted for a research study and the researcher's choice regarding how and

where exactly organizational learning is observed (Easterby-Smith et al., 2000). First, cognitive theorists usually study the ways in which individuals' mental models are enhanced as they acquire more information and knowledge, which subsequently improves organizational learning. In this case, it is logical to study the individual as the unit of analysis, because research takes into consideration their cognitive abilities contributing to organizational learning.

Second, theorists adopting the process-oriented view contend that organizational learning is driven by individuals' embodied actions (Easterby-Smith et al., 2000; Langlely, 2009). The proponents of this view, including the current researcher, examine how learning enables individuals to modify their relations with others while contributing to the shared learning process (Blackler & McDonald, 2000; Contu & Willmott, 2003; Coopey & Burgoyne, 2000; Crossan et al., 2011). This epistemological view concentrates on learning processes, and moves the locus of learning to outside an individual's mind, targeting the social processes happening in day-to-day organizational life (Easterby-Smith et al., 2000). The body of research on process oriented research is growing, and it is not uncommon to observe communities of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991) or routines (Pentland & Feldman, 2005) being studied as the unit of analysis. In such investigations individuals are commonly taken to be the unit of observation (Geddes, 2003; King, Keohane, & Verba, 1994), and the unit of analysis comprises the social processes in which individuals are involved. Moreover, individuals are social beings who construct their understanding and learn during their social interactions (Brandi & Elkjaer, 2011).

I approach organizational processes through the interpretive perspective, therefore my unit of analysis lies in the interface between individual and organizational attempts to learn (Easterby-Smith et al., 2000; Langlely, 2009). In addition, I deploy the psychodynamic lens to studying organizational learning, under which the ways individual respondents embody and enact unconscious emotions and power relations form a bridge to how things done in organizations as a whole. In sum, I am looking at individuals' embodied emotions that affect the organization. Psychodynamics does not study overt processes, but the individual him or herself and, to be more precise, how their past experiences affect present actions. My data is generated through individuals, but unlike cognitive theorists in the field, I am looking at the social dynamics within this data in order to understand the general processes of organizational learning.

3.4. Data Collection Methods

The data for this research has been generated from fifty-two semi-structured face-to-face interviews with fifty-four people (as two of the interviews were held with two participants) (Johnson, 2002; Kvale, 1996), photo-elicitation episodes (Harper, 2002), and by drawing on notes collected in my reflexive diary (Alaszewski, 2006a; Haynes, 2012). These data collection methods were selected to provide methodological triangulation and because of their overall fit with generating the necessary data for the chosen research questions. First, methodological triangulation is employed to investigate the phenomenon more thoroughly and provide trustworthiness and authenticity of the study. I created an overall methodology from the above listed three intersecting methods to examine the possibilities for organizational learning in Kazakhstan. These helped to investigate the selected organizations from different angles and by doing so provided an extended understanding of the phenomenon and established the validity and trustworthiness of the study (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Guba & Lincoln, 1985; Kvale, 1996). I triangulated the semi-structured interviews with the photo-elicitation in order to compare and contrast the data that both generated. That is, the interviews elicited research participants' personal views and emotions whereas the photo-elicitation was designed capture the unconscious aspects of these. For example, the themes generated from the photo-elicitation were later compared with the themes coming out of the interview data. Common threads or the comments talking about the aspects of the same phenomenon were used as emerging themes in the research.

Moreover, the reflexive diary was the best way to document my own observations and personal experiences during and after the data collection. Diary reflections provided additional source of information by supporting the emerging themes or providing necessary and additional feedback on them. In addition, it helped to triangulate the felt emotions of some research participants as I frequently took notes after each interview, thus sharing my experience of the interview. To put it in slightly different words, the diary partially connected into the feelings generated in me around different experiences in relation to the participants and to the interview outcomes, which could then be compared with the feelings of the participants in the later stages of analysis. In addition, some parts of the diary helped to redefine and shape the ideas, patterns, and emergent themes of the generated interview data. Thus by providing deeper insight regarding organizational processes from different aspects and as supplements to each other, the semi-structured interviews,

photo-elicitation, and the diary added validity and reliability to the research (Buchanan, 2001; Harper, 2002; Kearney & Hyle, 2004), and helped to crystallize the main aggregate dimensions of it. In addition to this, one more criteria contributed to trustworthiness and authenticity of this study. This is a supervised PhD research study, and my supervisor was involved in the discussions of the emerging patterns and assisted with confirming the robustness of the processes entailed in the data analysis (Langley, 2009). Having an outside reviewer helped to ensure the reliability and dependability of the work (Bryman, 2012).

Secondly, the combination of semi-structured interviews, photo-elicitation, and the diary is deemed appropriate to address the key research questions: How do the dynamics between the social unconscious, organizational power relations and social and unconscious emotions influence organizational learning in Kazakhstan? The research question is an open one and therefore requires the deployment of generative methods. Each of the chosen methods played important role in generating data. In detail, there are two main reasons for using semi-structured interviews in the current research (Gubrium, Holstein, Marvasti, & McKinney, 2012; Gubrium & Holstein, 2002). First, semi-structured interviews help to uncover the organizational dynamics and relations among people at work (Cassell, 2009). For example, observations or documentation would not be able to provide sufficient depth required to access what is in people's minds (Bryman, 2012), and this study relies on people's accounts of their organizations and established processes happening in their organizational context (Langley, 2009). Second, the main focus of the study is the transitional period from the old Soviet times to the recently established new ways of organizing, and this is best discernible from face-to-face conversations (Cassell, 2009) with those who work in the selected organizations. Regarding photo-elicitation, the transitional elements of the context was uncovered by using a pair of contrasting photos representing the Soviet and the current work environments. Moreover, the research aimed to investigate the unconscious aspects underlying the phenomenon, and the photo-elicitation proved to be the suitable and fitting method to use (Warren, 2012). The diary served as a connecting element during and after the data collection. My reflections during and after the data collecting helped me to carry out the analysis and generate research material (Alaszewski, 2006b). In the following sections each of the data collection methods discussed in detail.

3.4.1. Semi-structured interviews

Interpretive interviews set out to investigate what are research participants' views of the topic under investigation. At first glance, for the researcher, it is challenging to make sense of the large amounts of data collected in these interviews because they seem loaded with facts, fiction and the extraordinary mixed with the common. Interpretive researchers go out to find 'truth, not *the* truth, but certainly a truth' (Rosenblatt, 2001: 905, original italics). For instance, if the research is designed to interview parents who have lost children, the narratives of bereaved parents are taken to be the true and real stories (Rosenblatt, 2001). Similarly, in management research, employees' feelings of uncertainty about their role following a merger of two companies (Ullrich, Wieseke, & Dick, 2005) or interviewees' vision of organizational change (Lockett, Currie, Finn, Martin, & Waring, 2013) are the everyday reality that research participants experience. Hence researchers search for research participants' truths since this is the purpose of interviewing them (Gubrium et al., 2012).

Concerning the nature of semi-structured interviews, although they may appear to be a simple conversation between two persons, they are in fact, a real-time account and far from sanitized (Cassell, 2009), so the researcher should take into consideration the wide range of possibilities that might arise. First of all, it is an arena where a power position is exercised (Briggs, 2002; Cassell, 2009; Wang & Yan, 2012). Usually the interview is a social encounter where the researcher uses her privileged position of eliciting research participants' view on a particular topic (McCracken, 1988; Wang & Yan, 2012). Questioning is the device used by the researcher leads the interview as it is mainly she who asks questions rather than the participant (ibid). Alternatively, there are situations when this power position shifts towards participants, for instance with a respondent who might hold a powerful position in a studied organization (Conti & O'Neil, 2007; Stephens, 2007). In addition, the interview conversation is a place where both the researcher and the participant do 'identity work' (Cassell, 2005) and present themselves in an appropriate manner which typically involves managing and controlling words and impressions. Both the research participants' and researcher's narratives might be shaped by their desire to avoid embarrassment, they might purposefully alter their speech so as not to hurt the other's feelings, and efforts might be made to avoid topics that are not accepted in society or in their organizations (Rosenblatt, 2001). At the same time, since it is a real time conversation which

touches upon personal opinions and attitudes, the interview is where we may fail to control ourselves and emotions take over the conversation (Hollway & Jefferson, 2000). These attributes of the semi-structured interviews have implications for how we use them for during interviews ‘the constructive role played by active subjects’ (Gubrium & Holstein, 2001:14) should not be overlooked. In other words, participants do not only share their experiences but constructively shape information in real time. This is because the interview situation is not an exception to the everyday reoccurring process of reflection (Rosenblatt, 2001).

As both the participant and the researcher are engaged in an active conversation filled with ambiguities, inaccuracies and fantasies (Gabriel & Griffiths, 2004), the boundary between fact and fiction blur in such conversations (Rosenblatt, 2001). In their study, Gabriel and Griffiths (2004) illustrated a story of a senior clerk who told his version of a fellow engineer’s visit to the regional headquarter of his organization. His fantasy-laden narrative included his attitude toward senior management, ambiguous facts, and showed empathy for his fellow engineer. His story could be dismissed as a trifle by the researchers but these authors suggested that such stories may be a clue to uncovering the realities of everyday life in organizations. Therefore, Gabriel and Griffiths (2004) have urged researchers to look into such seemingly insignificant pieces of data, to become a ‘fellow traveller’ of research participants and engage in such trifling conversations as they may lead to more interesting and more compelling narratives (ibid).

Although there are many positive aspects associated with semi-structured interviews, there are some limitations. First, usually a researcher refers to the interview guide as semi-structured interviews are designed to follow what the research participants say, i.e. their line of thoughts tend to lead the interview (Bryman, 2012; Warren, 2002). However, this might include diversions and discussion of unrelated topics that might eventually help to arrive at the interesting ones. In spite of this being a natural weakness of the semi-structured interviews, researchers should be able to keep in the interview flowing and simultaneously lead the research participant to discussing topics that are informative and interesting (Gubrium et al., 2012; Gubrium & Holstein, 2001). This also means that semi-structured interviews produce great amounts of data that might be challenging to deal with.

Another challenge in regards to holding semi-structured interviews pertains to the ethical matters around protecting the collected data as they tend to elicit personal information about the

participants themselves or the community to which they belong (Johnson, 2002). This may include participants' personal views of others, various sensitive topics, and other privileged information which could be potentially damaging if made public (Holt, 2012). With respect to this crucial matter, for this current study, all necessary precautions were taken by this researcher to ensure that there was no potential to harm for anyone involved in it. The participants and I signed both copies of the consent form, and each kept a copy (Warren, 2002). For the convenience of the participants, these were provided in Kazakh and Russian versions with my contact details and those of my second supervisor, who speaks Russian, in case they wanted to verify any matters of the research. Moreover, recordings of the interview sessions were made only with the permission of interviewees and participants were assured that the recording would be stopped if requested at any time. In this research, only one out of a total of fifty-four research participants did not allow the researcher to record the session. Furthermore, all recordings, transcriptions and other data collected were kept confidential, and, in the case of publication, participants were told that any names and/or personal details would be re-labelled or withheld so as to protect the anonymity of individuals and organizations. The researcher followed the guidelines and regulations outlined in the Data Protection Act (1998) and the general 'research study' guidelines for students of the University of Bath. Regarding the photographs used in the photo-elicitation, this researcher obtained permission from the bearers of the copyright (Banks, 2001; Ray & Smith, 2012).

3.4.2. Photo-elicitation

In order to research the possible impact of the conscious and unconscious emotions and power relations on organizational learning, it was deemed necessary to utilize a method that would access unconscious processes, particularly one that could maintain the connection between an individual and their political involvement. Moreover, the challenge with any attempt to study unconscious dynamics in organizations is that of gathering data on activity which, by its very nature, is 'hidden from awareness yet still active (dynamic), pushing for release' (Frosh, 2002:13). I decided to address this by using visual methods, which have been shown to be particularly appropriate in helping researchers to interpret and comprehend emotional and unconscious aspects of individuals' experience (Broussine, 2008; Sievers, 2008; Vince & Broussine, 1996; Warren, 2012). In organization studies, two types of visual methods have been

used to generate data: drawings and photo-elicitation (Buchanan, 2001; Harper, 2002; Petersen & Ostergaard, 2003; Vince & Warren, 2012). Drawings are typically hand drawn or schematic illustrations of how the participant feels regarding certain processes going on in organizations (Meyer, 1991; Vince & Broussine, 1996; Vince & Warren, 2012). They are used to help the respondents express themselves as they replace those unspeakable emotions which accompany respondents' feelings about the process in which they are involved.

Photo-elicitation is the other means of using visual methods for research whereby photographs are inserted in the process of an interview. Photos and images have long been used in anthropology and sociology (Harper, 2002). Since the part of brain dedicated to processing visual information is evolutionarily older than the part processing verbal inputs, images and photos added during the interview help to generate rich data. For example, photographs have been applied extensively in the areas of research such as social class, family, historical ethnography, social identity, and cultural studies (ibid). In organization studies, for instance, photos were used when investigating university students (Sievers, 2008) and juvenile remand prisoners (Sievers, 2013) were asked to take photos of their surroundings and later were invited to reflect on them while the photos were being viewed on a big screen. Unlike a circled group discussion where participants are 'preoccupied with maintenance of... power and reputation' (Sievers, 2013:130), in a photo-matrix session people sit away from each other each looking at the screen and uttering what they think at the view of each photo. Such viewing relies on the possibilities to freely associate among participants.

The source of photographs, depending on the research purposes, can be archival or photographs produced either by participants or the researcher, or combination of these (Ray & Smith, 2012). In organization studies, researchers use participant produced (Sievers, 2008, 2013; Vince & Warren, 2012), researcher produced (Buchanan, 2001; Parker, 2009), and archival photos (Dougherty & Kunda, 1990; Petersen & Ostergaard, 2003; Preston & Young, 2000) or rarely, a combination of all these (Kobayashi, 2008). In psychodynamics and the study of emotions and power relations in organizations mainly participant produced photographs have been used (Sievers, 2008, 2013; Warren, 2012). For example, the social photo matrix is a method of viewing photos previously taken by the participants themselves (Sievers, 2008, 2013).

The use of photographs in organizational studies which adopt a psychoanalytic or psychodynamic perspective has grown recently (Warren, 2012) as the psychoanalytic lens aims to uncover new and unknown parts of the organization (Sievers, 2008; Vince & Warren, 2012). This method presented an attractive option for use in my investigation because photographs, used in various ways, help to access the conscious as well as unconscious forms of complex relations between individuals in organizations and their 'organization-in-the-mind' (Hutton et al., 1997).

Photo-elicitation (Harper, 2002) was selected as a suitable tool to assess how aspects of the unconscious are embedded in the chosen organizations in Kazakhstan. While the larger part of my fieldwork data was generated through face-to-face dialogue with members of several organizations, to supplement these discussions a pair of photographs, with one depicting the old Soviet and one showing contemporary workplaces, were introduced to the respondents at the end of the interview (see Figure 1). The photographs were sourced from a private archive and free online stock images and present snapshots from workplaces where individuals appear to be involved in various work-related situations. The selected photography comprises two photographs, one which aimed to depict a Soviet workplace and another - a contemporary workplace.

There are two interrelated reasons for using photo-elicitation for this study: first, photographs are used as objects presenting the social and political situation in which respondents are embedded, and second, by doing so, they help to uncover the possible tension between the Soviet and contemporary times. In other words, it was decided to use photos help to access the viewer's unconscious by his/her associating the images with their inner world.

With respect to the first reason, these photographs were used to access the 'organization-in-the-mind' of the respondents (Hutton et al., 1997). They are the source of associations, because every viewer 'sees' the photo by internalizing, which taps into what Freud (1954) has referred to as free association. One can access individuals' inner experiences of an organization by them freely associating with reference to the photos, which initiates certain links and meanings that are usually kept unknown or unspoken (Sievers, 2013). Furthermore, free association is recognised as a method of uncovering the unconscious organizational dynamics by blurring the boundary between an external object - a photograph - and the respondent's inner world (ibid). Thus the division between the external and internal 'itself comes to shift or move as outside forces cause

internal variations or as internal variations create new connections with the outside' (Boyman, 1995:viii).

Figure 1 Soviet and contemporary workplaces

On the left – a Soviet workplace – source: a private archive;

On the right – a contemporary workplace – source: Wikimedia Commons by Robert Scoble



In general terms, the photo is an image that depicts certain content and, at the same time, is an object that presents more than just a photo (Rose, 2003; Scarles, 2009), since 'its material and representational forms and the uses to which they are put are central to the function of a photograph as a socially salient object' (Edwards & Hart, 2004:2). Hence, photographs can serve as an external object upon which respondents can direct their projections, transference, and other inherent unconscious emotions. Further, by using them in this way, photographs can fulfil the significant role of 'bridging the gap between the apparently individual, private, subjective and the apparently collective, social, political' (Samuels, 1993:63). Therefore, these pictures were intended to trigger respondents' feelings about the social and political environment surrounding local organizations at the time of the investigation (Gallhofer & Haslam, 1996). The traces of structure, practice, and the life style of what is pictured, to which Bourdieu (1990) referred to as *habitus*, were employed. By so doing, this researcher attempted to step into aspects of photography as a product of a particular ideology depicting historical, cultural and societal values belonging to their content (Rose, 2000; Warren, 2009b).

Turning to the second interrelated reason, they could be used effectively to bring forward any potential tension between the past and the present in the focal post-Soviet society. I showed the research participants the pair of photos simultaneously with the purpose of triggering a reaction

towards the possible tension between the old Soviet and the new free market economy rules in their workplaces. By showing the pair of contrasting photos, the intention was to elicit the current unconscious, political and emotional situations in the participant's organization. The reactions elicited from the participants to the photo stimuli, when questioned on an individual basis, provided opportunities to interpret the unconscious dynamics that are present in respondents' organizations. Simultaneously, the respondents' reactions to the photographs enabled me to access the unconscious processes underlying his or her actions for the discourses that he or she brought forward after looking at the photographs. Hence, the shared unconscious dynamics and individuals' unconscious actions following them shed light on the possible tension between the old and the new times. This was the key to understanding the possibilities for and the impediments to organizational learning which lay beneath his or her reactions to the photographs.

Concerning the type of photos used, although the existing literature on visual methods duly notes the value of archival photos (Parker, 2009), in organization studies the use of archival photos faithfully adheres to the 'archival' part of it. For instance, scholars have argued about the possibilities to use them as a historical research tool to investigate archival, oral and critical accounting (Parker, 2009) or utilize them in historical and longitudinal studies of annual reports (Dougherty & Kunda, 1990; Preston & Young, 2000). Recent publications however have highlighted their capacity to visualize the future as well the past and their ability to trigger emotional reactions, which invites scholars to look into other potential advantages that historical and archival photographs might offer (Warren, 2009). Following this, the current study employs archival photos to uncover the unconscious emotions of individuals surrounded by organizational processes as 'it preserves a fragment of the past that is transported in apparent entirety to the present' (Parker, 2009:1115). The aim was to contrast the two sets of stimuli and encourage respondents to think of current matters that have links with any lingering Soviet experiences from the past. It is accepted in the literature that photographs, especially historical ones, tend to invoke different emotional sensations as respondents personally associate with the images that the photographs portray (Harper, 2002).

The two photos representing two eras

Photo-elicitation was an attempt to uncover people's feelings regarding the Soviet and the new times. However, at a conference where I presented my research, I was asked whether research

participants were able differentiate between the two pictures as being representative of the Soviet and the new times. The scholars at the conference argued that they could associate either of my photographs with both the old and the new times (for instance one representing 1970s and the other the 2000s) and that the photos could have been taken in any country from across the world. This was a valid critique, but for the purposes of this research, the two photos were presented to participants in order to garner views on the Soviet and contemporary times in Kazakhstan. It emerged that all participants identified the photo depicting the Soviet workplace with ‘the time of the former Soviet Union’ (3-10-32) and the one illustrating contemporary times with the era they were currently living in, which accorded with the purpose of the stimuli. In particular, the old photo generated a lot of emotions, and reason for this might be certain encoded Soviet features that are present in the photo and/or a general nostalgic feeling for the past. However, it is of note that in some instances, interviewees identified that the old photo covered the 1990s as well as days long ago, and could be associated with the 20th century. This was indicative of the grey zone identified with the intensive transformations that occurred in the shift from the Soviet to current times. The new photo was frequently associated by respondents with the 21st century, and was taken as a representation of ‘the current era’ (3-1-23). Otherwise, with respect to the photos, the immediate responses could be summed up in the utterances of the teacher of Kazakh language who stated that ‘... both of them depict workplaces, but in two different eras’ (5-4-46). It would appear that this pair of photos fulfilled the intended purposes of the photo elicitation exercise in my study.

3.4.3. The reflexive diary

Diaries are regularly written personal accounts of certain events surrounding the person in question (see Alaszewski, 2006a), and the term ‘diary’ is used for ‘all personal documents which individuals produce about themselves’ (Alaszewski, 2006b:2). Accordingly, the diary for this study was kept by myself and was reflective in nature (Nadin & Cassell, 2006). Reflections in the diary can be ‘defined as the *interpretation of interpretation* and the launching of critical self-exploration of one’s own interpretations of empirical material (including its construction)’ (Alvesson & Skoldberg, 2000:6; original italics), and as such, the diary serves as a platform for reflexivity. While one of the aims of this study was to allow my research subjects speak of their own experiences, it is acknowledged that as a researcher I could have my own biases and

thoughts regarding the research issues (Nicolson, 2003). That is, researchers can both influence and are influenced by the study in which they are involved, and it is recommended that scholars should be reflexive upon how their views of reality impact upon the course of their investigations (Haynes, 2012).

There is a great deal of responsibility involved in dealing with the empirical material in an appropriate manner since there are countless ways of interpreting, analysing, and presenting the collected empirical data. As a researcher, what I know and the way I relate to the research shapes the research itself (Lock & Strong, 2010), and thus it is important to keep this in mind throughout the investigation. Reflexivity itself is closely related to reflection and serves as the initial step towards it because reflexivity itself is the result of a reflective activity. In other words, by writing the diary notes, I could engage in the reflective activity of discussing my own views concerning the research, and by so doing, allowing myself to move on to the next level of thinking. In this way, paraphrasing Gabriel's (2008:248) example of reflexivity, I make sense of the past events concerning my research by writing in the diary, which, in turn, helps me to advance my lines of thought.

Many academics have addressed the role of reflexivity under various philosophical schools within the field of management research (Johnson & Duberley, 2003). In order to point out its importance, others have made deeper inquiries into the critical use of reflexivity that unsettles its straightforward application (Alvesson & Skoldberg, 2000; Cunliffe, 2003). With regard to the present study, there are three reasons for recording a reflexive diary and my practising reflexivity. The first reason is that reflexivity helps to ensure that fair judgement is made by the investigator regarding the interpretations of what is occurring during the research process by reflecting on them. The second reason concerns the empirical work and maintaining boundaries regarding the context of study. The third reason why I am concerned about pursuing a reflexive diary is to capture where possible the unconscious emotions of the research participant that might have transferred to the researcher.

The initial justification for adopting diary writing for this study pertains to the notions that the researcher influences the research process (Watson, 2011). The reflexive diary was kept that helped me to 'audit' and ensure I made a fair judgement of interpretations (Bryman, 2012; Guba & Lincoln, 2000; Nadin & Cassell, 2006). Since the philosophical stance of this study does not

pre-suppose one absolute truth and acknowledges possible different interpretations of the social world, the diary served as an additional criterion of trustworthiness of the study by providing additional line of thoughts that run along the data collection and analysis period, hence providing the transparency of data interpretation (Bryman, 2012). Self-reflexivity was the opportunity for me to critically reflect on the self while engaging with the research and interacting with respondents (Guba & Lincoln, 2000) through personal disclosure whereby the researcher records his or her own feelings and further thoughts about the empirical study (Watson, 2011:212).

The second reason for reflexivity and for keeping a reflective diary is to become aware of taken-for-granted assumptions of the context of the study (Parker, 2005). My role as a researcher who went back to gather data in the country in which I was born and raised was complicated for it required simultaneously carrying out two roles - being a researcher and being a member of the group (Karra & Phillips, 2007). Researching back home 'may be presumed to provide a richer *subjective* knowledge of a given social group, but that same subjectivity is believed to compromise attempts for ... neutrality and scientificity' (original italics) (Jackson, 2004). By neutrality I don't mean detaching myself from the research, but rather the ability to notice and realize the worthy details and the building blocks of the findings. I was a complete-member-researcher (Adler & Adler, 1987) who was very similar to my research participants. To a certain extent, I knew what they knew, had the same assumptions and expectations, and in many cases felt and reacted to the outside world in similar fashion. This was further complicated by the unconscious nature of data, as being an insider made it difficult to interpret as the participants and I shared the same unconscious instincts. Adler and Adler state, 'instead of having to bring their research self to a setting and carve out a membership role, the reverse occurs' (1987:69), that is, I had to focus on being aware of my role as a researcher. The reflective dairy helped me become aware of certain things that I was not conscious of and assisted me in addressing these challenges (Parker, 2005).

Third, interviews generated in fieldwork are a product of the relationships between the respondents and the researcher (Nicolson, 2003), and both parties can be subject to the influence of various unconscious emotions emerging from the other party during the research encounter (Hollway & Jefferson, 2000). As people tend to externalize their unconscious emotions onto outer objects (Hinshelwood, 1991), during an interview, the researcher may become the object of

a participant's unconscious emotions. In other words, participants may transfer their unconsciously generated emotions to the interviewer. During the collection of data for this study, the reflexive diary entry that I wrote after each interview served as a useful way of capturing any transference between participants and myself. For this purposes, where applicable, I wrote down what I felt after each interview, which subsequently could be checked back against my preliminary interpretations of the interview narratives.

3.5. Collected empirical data

3.5.1. Collected Interviews

A total of fifty-two interviews were collected in the period from February to April 2014. This comprised thirty-eight hours of audio-taped interviews, with the average length of each being forty-five minutes. Two interviews were held with two participants, making the total number of participants fifty-four and these took place in organization one. The first interview held with two participants was planned with the purpose of investigating whether it would provide richer data than the usual one-to-one interview format. I thought that two persons talking about their organization would bring forward more interesting stories as they could discuss some of their experiences together. The first pair comprised two teachers, and, during the course of the interview, I realised that the age difference between them defined the course of the interview. It became a very pertinent matter for the elder teacher answered all my questions, unless I specifically addressed the younger one. The younger teacher only became involved in terms of adding some comments, here and there. This continued until the elder excused herself and went back to her class so I then had the chance to run the whole interview process again with only the younger teacher present. I assumed that the dynamics during this interview revealed the cultural trait of respecting the older. On retrospect I could have related such a relationship between these two teachers to my findings, but the experience was not felt to be very satisfactory. The second interview with two persons was not planned and happened almost at the end of one interview that was being held in the teachers' room when another teacher with whom I had originally planned to meet, arrived. We (the current interviewee, I and the newly arrived teacher) started chatting, and the situation was right for putting some of the questions to the teacher who had just entered the room. The interview continued in this way for some time. In the course of this three-way

interview, I learned that these two ladies belonged to the same age group, and by that time I learned that age was an important criterion. They felt free to talk in front of each other with both of them answering the questions together, sometimes discussing matters between themselves as well as asking each other to recall details of certain situations and stories. Although the second interview with two persons was successful, I was not sure that for future interviews, I would be able to find colleagues who were comfortable talking in front of each other, thus no more group interviewing was attempted.

Interviews usually began with small talk (Johnson, 2002) which usually included the research participant's short biography, a short biography of where I come from and how I came to be researching a PhD in the UK, and then moved on to a short explanation of the research. Usually the research participants asked about the nature of questions. Then I introduced the informed consent form, explained the purpose of it and asked permission to record our conversation. We both signed the consent (Appendix 2), and if he or she agreed, started recording the interview and carried on with the interview questions (Interview Guide in Appendix 3). Photo-elicitation took place at the end of each interview by me prompting the research participant that we would finish by looking at the photos. When I stopped the recorder, we mostly talked about our views on the old and new times which concluded our conversation.

All interviews were tape-recorded except for one, where the participant declined permission. At the end of the each interviewing day, the tape recorder was connected to my laptop, the content transferred and then moved to the online storage space and appropriately labelled. The audio-files with interviews were kept on my laptop and online to avoid loss of any data. Both my laptop and the online storage space were password protected to avoid undesirable access. The labelling was crucial both to ensure the anonymity of the research participants and organize large amounts of collected data since the interviews were conducted within five different organizations, with about a dozen interviews in each organization. Each research participant was assigned a unique four-digit number as a coded name that denoted the number of their organization and their interview sequence number. This number served as identification for each of the research participants and used in referencing and in the diary notes. For example, the participant numbered '3-1-23' means that the person is from organization three (first digit), he has been interviewed first in this

organization (second digit), and this interview is #23 out of total 52 interviews in this study (third digit). The list of coded names is shown in appendix 1.

There are three different types of practical limitations or cultural differences that I encountered while conducting the interviews. The first two limitations are interconnected and concern the physical space and the sense of privacy among employees of an organization. First, the physical space. Generally I conducted the interviews in the office of the research participants, and in the organizations two, three and four, they could provide a separate room for the interviews since some offices were shared. However, with the participants sited in the factory part of organization two, there were two cases when I could not have a separate room but conducted the interview in a shared room. It was a large shared room for three persons, where only two persons were present and both of them had agreed to be interviewed one after another. I suggested the empty room in the next building, but they refused to move there, and instead either would move out for the time of the interview to the neighbouring office. However, in the middle of the interview the other person dropped in to the office where we had the interview several times to pick up keys, then papers, and on another occasion a tea mug. When I asked if I needed to stop the tape recorder, the person being interviewed did not take notice of the person who entered and kept talking. Thus I added the second practical limitation, the sense of privacy. It seemed the sense of privacy is different from that encountered in the Western world. This was not the only occasion when people dropped by and entered the interview venue. There were occasions when people knocked the door and excused themselves and asked for the signature of the person being interviewed or clarified some ongoing issues. In addition, this was not necessarily caused by a third party, as some of the research participants themselves received the mobile phone calls while being interviewed. When their phone rang, they usually asked if it was fine to receive the call to which I agreed and I paused the recording. They usually talked via phone without leaving the interview venue, and sometimes even referred to the caller's conversation while answering the interview questions.

Third practical limitation or perhaps a cultural difference was the sense of time. The idea of scheduling the interviews weeks ahead via email as people usually do in the Western world was alien to my research participants. So, fortunately, I never had several weeks of email 'conversations' about possible interview appointments with my participants beforehand (Patton,

2002). There was a sense of urgency in the way they reacted to the invitation for interviews as it was usually assumed that I want to interview them as soon as possible. Usually the research participants could schedule time either right after they agreed to be interviewed or within a couple of days. The adverse side to this was that people sometimes rescheduled the interviews with very short notice or on a couple of occasions I waited for the respondents for several hours before they eventually became available, having finished with their other engagements.

3.5.2. Struggling with boundaries

In order to manage the role that I had during my fieldwork I needed to be aware of my own position in the interviews. On occasion I found myself arguing with the research participants about the accuracy of their recall of certain historical events. At other times I would add more details to what a participant had said, thus contributing to the dialogue, rather than pursuing the questions detailed in my aide memoire (Karra & Phillips, 2007). The following two excerpts are from the interviews. The first piece is taken from the interview with deputy dean of organization five:

‘Research participant: Working... from 9am till 6pm. Working with papers...they deliver the plan, I think they fulfilled the set plan... as in the Soviet times... It was like that, 5 year plans...

Indira: 5 year plan done in four years...

Research participant: Yeah, that sort of plans and files... Papers, reports... They need to fulfil all that... Report everything on paper. In those times...’ (5-8-50).

Above, my interjection, ‘5 year plans done in four years’ is an ironic and comical remark regarding the Soviet times when it is generally thought that people were encouraged to fulfil the planned work earlier than initially planned.

The second example of when I struggled to keep the boundaries happened during the photo-elicitation stage of the interview and developed in the following way. The research participant recalled his childhood looking at the old Soviet photo and said ‘from the other hand, this remind my childhood... red pioneer scarf, pryaniki (a type of ginger cookies), round candies’ (3-12-34). At this point it seems I nodded, and he carried on by saying ‘you are nodding to me, but what do

you remember?!' (ibid). I got sucked into the conversation and replied 'maybe what *you* ate and what *I* ate were not exactly the same, but we had our own sweets as well'. It was clear that he responded to me in this particular way because he considered me too young to have experienced the Soviet times. From my side, if I had not been Kazakh, this particular experience would not have meant anything to me. I would not have known the details and could not have been emotionally attached to the context, thus would not have reacted the way I did. This experience made me realise how embedded I was in the context and demonstrated to me that I had to have greater awareness of the situations (Karra & Phillips, 2007) arising in my interview sessions. At the same time I was aware that the interviews I carried out were open ended and had the purpose of delving into the research participants' world and understanding how they made sense of what they were relating. In such instances, there was a struggle between finding the balance of guiding the interview, keeping myself not too involved, and following the exciting stories of the participants.

3.5.3. Transcription

The interviews were conducted both in Russian and Kazakh languages, depending on the research participants' preferences. All in all, eighteen interviews were conducted in Russian and thirty-four in Kazakh. In a couple of occasions research participants began the interview in Kazakh, then moved to Russian as they felt more comfortable with Russian, otherwise they were usually consistent with the chosen language. Transcription of the interviews started one month into my data collection, and all interviews were transcribed before coding (Lapadat & Lindsay, 1999). Out of fifty-two interviews, twelve were directly translated and transcribed by myself using the Transcribe software offered by Google. The remaining interviews were transcribed by six different people. Non-disclosure agreements were signed with them to protect the data. The two who transcribed the interviews recorded in Russian were professional part-time typists, so it was easy to make arrangements and the quality of the transcribed interviews was high. However, it was challenging to find typists who could transcribe in Kazakh. I spent over a month looking for professional transcribers and then finally, I hired three students from the Kazakh languages department in one of the universities. The transcriptions of two students were of good quality, but the third, who worked on four interview transcripts, did not do the job very well. She tended to shorten the interviews and typed only what she judged to be the useful and essential parts of the

interviews. In other words, she ‘corrected’ those sentences that were loose and made them into grammatically correct ones. As this was unacceptable, I ended up asking one of the other two students to transcribe these particular tapes again. Two of the interviews were transcribed by a friend of mine, and when she returned the work, she expressed her concerns regarding my research participants being incoherent and inarticulate in their speech (Poland, 2001).

Unfortunately, it was the similar experience as above as the work contained corrected sentences and not direct speech. Although these were not as poor as in the previous case, I decided to work on those transcriptions myself.

The interviews transcribed by others were rigorously checked by reading the text while listening to the audio files with attention being paid to the texts produced by inexperienced typists. The Russian language audio files transcribed by two professional typists were selectively checked. This checking procedure was justified for the following three reasons. First, I wanted to check the accuracy of the transcription for, as described above, I had had a negative experience with some poor quality transcriptions. In addition, the audibility of some tapes was poor. Several of the interviews that I conducted on the shop floor of the window manufacturing factory (organization two) were held in the offices with thin walls. Moreover, there were interruptions as people kept dropping into the interview venue for a short chat, to pick up papers, or other items. All these factors contributed to the poor quality of the audio files, which, in turn, affected the quality of the typed texts. The second reason was to correct any misprinted words. This was necessary as the typists were not familiar with the context or the geographical and professional terminology used by my research participants. For example, the texts from organizations one and two, situated in western Kazakhstan were typed by typists who hailed from the south of Kazakhstan and it transpired that certain colloquial terms were difficult for the southern ear to catch. Thirdly, listening through the interviews helped me to feel, and where possible, add some oral components such as long pauses, changes in voice pitch, the sentiments surrounding outbursts of laughter and other nuances that were difficult to capture in the text (Poland, 2001) and were missed by the typists. In addition, I added time stamps to the parts of the interviews that I considered to be particularly informative. This proved to be helpful for coding as well as when carrying out my analysis because it eased my searching in the audio file for points in the interview. Moreover, the focus of this study was concerned with respondents’ emotions and

therefore it was deemed important to capture how certain things were said as well as what was being said (ibid).

3.5.4. Translation of the interviews

This study involved three different languages: English, Kazakh and Russian. The source languages for the translations were Kazakh and Russian languages. As I am a bilingual (Kazakh/Russian) researcher, and, since the data was collected in Kazakhstan, there were no translation or interpretation issues pertaining to working in the original languages (Edwards, 1998). Further, the investigation was conducted ‘back home’, so it was easy for me to relate to the context and there were no problems around explaining the topic to participants nor with regards to conducting fluently flowing conversations (Karra & Phillips, 2007). An important asset that I brought to the field was my familiarity with cultural nuances which enhanced the ease with which I could re-shape the interview questions in accord with the flow of the interview and use humour as well as cultural references to facilitate the conversation (ibid).

I translated twelve of the interviews into English and coded these. This translation formed an interpretive endeavour rather than a literal account. In the later stage, I should admit that I preferred the original language for coding rather than English, as the original language was more convenient for in-vivo coding. For the remaining forty interviews, these were kept in the original language for the purposes of coding. Any parts of these that were cited in the thesis were translated into English at a later stage. This involved the translation of texts transcribed in Russian and Kazakh into English, which is the target language for this PhD (Munday, 2012). Accomplishing appropriately accurate and richly textured translations was a considerable challenge for me, the main reason being that English is my learned language and I do not enjoy the language proficiency of a native speaker.

To inform this phase of transcription and translation, I explored the extant literature in the field. Much of the existing literature on translation in the domain of management studies mainly concentrates on the accuracy of survey translations. For instance, for these, a widely used method is back translation (Harkness, 2003). This method is utilized in comparative studies that involve testing well established theories in various cross national contexts. For such research as cross-cultural studies, the same survey is used to compare different nations, groups and cultures, which

necessitates great accuracy regarding the translation of the survey tools (Harkness, Vijver, & Mohler, 2003). However, this approach has been criticized for not addressing the issues of conceptual equivalence and the meaning to readers when a text is rendered into a target language. Instead of back translation, a collaborative and iterative approach has been proposed (Douglas & Craig, 2007). For this type of translation several steps are undertaken that can provide a more accurate and meaningful translation in the target language. Although both of these translation methods are positivistic in character, the aim being to translate established questionnaires into a new language in order to gather reliable data, I employed the collaborative translation method to improve my translations. I consulted three of my Russian and Kazakh speaking PhD friends to translate the certain parts of my data. The colleagues helped me with the translation of proverbs and idioms respondents frequently used in their speech. One of the colleagues was particularly helpful since he grew up in Northern Ireland and could help with correct translation of idioms into English. Then I consulted a professional proof reader to help with my translations, and this proved to be highly useful as she helped to translate the phrasal verbs and the phraseology that was used in relation to organizational processes.

For me, the translating from Russian into English felt easier than from Kazakh into English and this may be down to two possible reasons. First, I used to study English in Russian, i.e. with the teachers' explanations and directions given to me in Russian. Second, the Russian language is a widely spoken international language with good quality online dictionaries readily available. By contrast, Kazakh is far less recognised across the world and consequently, it was not surprising to discover that the Kazakh-English dictionary I found to use as an online resource did not list a few of the words I needed. When I came across Kazakh terms that I could not immediately translate into English, I looked them up firstly in a Kazakh- Russian dictionary, and consequently looked for the English version of the Russian. Where I felt that the translated version of the Russian word was not satisfactory, I consulted a thesaurus and looked up synonyms in order to find my appropriate translation.

3.5.5. How I kept a reflexive diary

The contents of the reflexive diary I kept for my studies can be divided into three on the basis of when they were written: the reflective notes taken after each interview, the diary notes written during and after the data collection period, and the diary pages written while transcribing, coding

and analysing. All of these were written in English. Regarding the reflective notes jotted down after each interview, these mainly had the purpose of collecting my feelings about the interview and the research participant. These were usually a half page in length and were the answers to six pre-set questions, which I had devised for myself as an aide memoire. These covered: my general feelings about the interview, the main issue or theme that seemed interesting or important about the research participant, and a summary of the interview. The length of these notes is about thirty to forty pages. This type of diary record that was written after each interview includes entries similar to the following example:

‘...seems I don’t belong to his time... ‘We had this, you didn’t have it, right?’ sort of questions. As if there is nobody else who belongs to his time... (About the choice of a photo) He was cross with me. He announced that he does not want to choose any of the photos because there was a Russian lady in the old photo. Chauvinist?! In the photos, he didn’t like those who looked like Russians, he also asked why didn’t I bring a photo with Kazakhs in it ... He said he chose the old one only because it reminds him his childhood. This was a difficult person, but interesting still. His *pryaniki* and sweets, and for some reasons he thought that I don’t know the Soviet time sweets because I am younger than him’ (3-12-34, cameraman)

This example illustrates some sort of disappointment or anger around this participant, which may have actually been the participant’s anger and disappointment that passed to me. This was the main reason for making a diary entry after each interview.

A main challenge faced was the difficulty of documenting how I felt right after the interview. I planned to write how I felt after each interview in my reflective diary along with other details I considered important. However, looking back I can remember a few times when I sat and stared at the screen, not being able to think of a word to write because everything that had happened and had been discussed during the session seemed so natural to me and nothing seemed worthy of special notice. This accords with what Anderson (2006) reported in the example of his participant study of skydiving. He mentioned his experience when the follow skydivers prepared for the next jump by checking the others’ gear and performed all their casual preparations, he himself a skydiver was also required to do all the preparation and remain conscious of how every happening had to be reproduced and recorded after the jump.

Secondly, during and after the data collection period I kept a reflective record regarding how I had accessed the organizations, my perceptions of each of the five organizations and how the process of data collection had turned out. In these entries, which total around thirty pages, I contemplated the tough aspects of my data collection activities such as the process of getting access, the logistics of planning some of the interviews, and my personal learning regarding some do's and don'ts of interviewing. In addition, I also reflected on the pleasant feeling of having learned a lot from some of the research participants and how generous with their contributions they were as well as how talkative some of them were during our time together. Below I present one excerpt from these records that I found particularly fitting the methodology. The entry dated February 21, 2014 where I made a parallel with the story of my gaining access to organization number two with a well-known Soviet movie entitled: 'Mimino'. Perhaps, in terms of popularity it is similar to 'Monty Python and the Holy Grail' or 'Breakfast at Tiffany's'. Mimino is the name of the main character.

'This reminds me the scene from 'Mimino', where Mimino arrives in Moscow from Tbilisi to look for a job. When he arrives, he comes to one guy's apartment (whom he does not know personally), and that guy's wife opens the door. Mimino says that he got the address from Aunt Gera who lives in Tbilisi. He mentions the name of the host, and asks if he could help him to find a hotel. Then the wife of the Moscow guy, leaves Mimino at the door, enters the apartment. She talks to the husband and they decide they should call somebody else. So she telephones somebody else, and asks for a hotel room, and in return agrees (on behalf of her husband) to get two tickets to the Bolshoi Theatre, even though the husband was not sure if he could get them. She solves the hotel issue there, and refers Mimino to one hotel and gives the name of the receptionist. When Mimino happy for finding a place to stay leaves their apartment and the wife asks the husband 'who is Aunt Gera from Tbilisi?' To which the husband answers: 'I don't know'.

I wrote this because the way I got access to the organizations was similar to this adventure. I thought that this famous Soviet movie depicted the way people still handle things in the post-Soviet Kazakhstan. For example, to gain access to organization two I got the appointment with the director after three or four meetings with some very kind and helpful people in the Chamber of Commerce even though I did not personally know any of them. Although this process

happened quickly, it involved many points of contact with a range of individuals; however, fortunately, every meeting brought me closer to finding the ‘right’ person.

The third type of notes was written while coding, transcribing and analysing the data. These entries were quite different from the previous two types because I wrote my reflections on certain extracts of the research participants’ narratives. This diary section is longer and more consistent than the others and consists of fifty pages. The structure of this diary section is somewhat reminiscent of ‘Eternity’s Sunshine: A Way of Keeping a Diary’ written by Marion Milner (2011). These notes were of a more interpretive character, and each citation or excerpt taken from the coded transcribed material was elaborated upon with my interpretation. Similar to this diarist’s writings in which she constantly revisits issues, these notes allowed me to reflect on the same thing over time and on a number of occasions.

3.6. Data Analysis

As outlined above, the present study is inductive in nature and is grounded in the collected empirical data (Gioia et al., 2013; Langley, 1999; Pratt, Rockmann, & Kaufmann, 2006; Seale, 1999) that largely comprises the interviewees’ ways of doing things at work and their conscious and unconscious emotional responses. The photos were inserted towards the end of the interviews to prompt the emotional output of the research participants regarding the Soviet and current times (Harper, 2002). The data for analysis also included the notes and reflective commentary documented in this researcher’s diary (Alaszewski, 2006b). The data analysis was designed to bring the respondents’ subjective interpretations forward as a source of organizational reality (Corley & Gioia, 2004; Seale, 1999) and the process of analysis was iterative in nature, moving between the emerging categories in the empirical data and the theoretical literature which framed this research (Langley, 1999, 2009; Pratt et al., 2006). I used Nvivo 10, a qualitative data analysis software package, to code and organize the data emerging from the empirical studies. This software assisted in organizing the data as the amount of transcribed material and diary notes was overwhelming and Nvivo provided somewhere not only to keep all the materials but owing to its search function also gave immediate and easy access when it was necessary to find certain documents. I used the program to group the codes several times, and it proved to be useful as I only copied the nodes when grouping, which allowed me to reuse them repeatedly. However at

the later stages of analysis, I incorporated a pencil and paper method and adopted more the traditional paper based approach relying on coloured pens and markers as well as printed word document and excel sheets to make sense of the more complex sets of data. The latter two were mainly used for scrutinising the data from the photo-elicitation and diaries. I found this way of working more comfortable and easier than using the computer program as it allowed me to draw the aggregate codes and collect everything together on one page to highlight as I wished.

The process of coding and analysing consists of three main parts: first-order coding, second-order coding, and creating aggregate dimensions (Gioia et al., 2013; Saunders et al., 2009). To this end, initially, similar ideas occurring in my interviews were categorized into loosely different clusters. This clustering of data elicited in the respondents' interviews is termed first-order coding (Gioia et al., 2013; Van Maanen, 1979), and the emergent categories are named by using the respondents' own or similar descriptive phrases. In order to overcome the issue of dealing with too much data, it is recommended that the first-order coding is carried out in two steps: data is loosely categorized into as many clusters as is necessary, and only when this is achieved, the clusters with similar ideas are grouped together (Corley & Gioia, 2004). In the current study the initial coding produced around 650 nodes. The main distinct theme was the *kollektiv*, and work related processes and various emotions were described as seen and experienced through the *kollektiv*. The term *kollektiv* is used to describe the people working in one organization, and it was frequently used by research participants. In this study, I transliterated and used the word *kollektiv* as opposed to the term *collective*, the former differs to a collective and is used only in relation to colleagues in the research respondents' organizations. In addition, there was a very large amount of raw data coded into different nodes that were not related to the *kollektiv*. During the first-order coding, I clustered related nodes into groups with the purpose of reducing them into a more manageable number of nodes. When doing this, I only copied the nodes so as to keep the initial nodes intact as I felt that the initial grouping was adequately descriptive. The initial first-order coding revealed fewer number of categories that mainly described how things were in the participants' organizations; this was the only strong theme that seemed to identify the ways people do things in these organizations. However, there remained many nodes that were still loose and did not relate to any of the first-order dimensions.

After identifying the kollektiv-related themes, I moved to dealing with the data from photo-elicitation. As I introduced the photos at the end of the interviews and there were only few questions relating them, the data produced from photo-elicitation seemed more manageable. The analysis of the photo-elicitation was carried out in several stages. First, as the last question of the interview was to identify which of the two offered photos were closer to the participant's heart, I counted the number of people expressing a preference for each photo. Second, I analysed what was said for and/or against the Soviet photo and the contemporary one and drew up tables listing the reported pros and cons for each. Unfortunately, it was not possible to apply a word cloud, because the coded data was in three languages. The word cloud would have helped me identify the most repeated words in the photo-elicitation. However, at the initial stage, I gathered the related categories into separate boxes in a word document to analyse visually the data from photo-elicitation. This procedure was repeated several times to try the different possibilities probing the occurring dimensions. I used colour coding to define the emerging first-order dimensions. In the second-order phase of coding each of the first-order categories were examined separately, and the main theme of each category identified, thus creating a more manageable and less wieldy set of categories (Gioia et al., 2013). This was as equally challenging as the first part of coding and was repeated several times to check for different possibilities and to arrive finally at the most suitable.

Coding and analysis of the photo-elicitation shed light on many possible themes, and at this point I turned back to look at the main interview data. In fact, the first-order and second-order coding was carried out repetitively, and it is difficult to separate these processes. These two stages informed each other and I moved from one to another in the course of the coding process (ibid). Subsequently, the second-order categories were clustered into fewer overarching aggregate dimensions that could be checked against the extant theoretical literature. In this study these aggregate dimensions were expected to help with identifying, for example, the nature of types of unconscious emotions inherent in the respondents' settings and emotions surrounding them. As an example, Figure 2 shows the data structure for one of the aspects of the social unconscious.

Vignettes are used as the main method of presenting the empirical data. There are two reasons for illustrating the main data in vignettes in this research. First, vignettes help to illustrate the more complete picture of what was happening in organizations (DeJordy & Barrett, 2014; Vince &

Mazen, 2014). This study aims at capturing the social interaction among people in the organizations under investigation and their way of doing things at work, and a vignette fitted best to elicit such dynamics directly as they present the extract of what was uttered by the research participants. Second, through vignettes, the research participants' experiences are directly transferred to the readers. That is, I used the stories and experiences of the research participants and thus did 'the least violence' to the empirical data (Pratt, 2008).

Practical aspects of the analysis stage

Since I was located in Sweden during the writing-up stage, most of the communication with my supervisor, Professor Russ Vince, was through email, and I used his emails as guidance when building my analysis. That is, I sent him my initial analysis, to which he answered with possible ways to develop the work further, and he offered different suggestions related to my queries. To keep in mind his points, I copied his suggestions onto the top of the related section of analysis as a reminder because I noticed that while working with the data and trying different possible ways to analyse them, it was easy to move away from the bigger picture. Placing the copied guidance notes at the beginning of each section helped me to get back on track when got lost in the detail. Moreover, I used some of these suggestions as a list of possibilities to try out which I applied in turn to test whether or not these could help to develop the work and steer its direction.

There were limitations in analysing the collected data because it was collected in Kazakh and Russian languages, and later transcribed, selectively translated and subsequently written up in English. Any sort of treatment of the original data and especially writing up in a different language other than that of the original data does not do justice to it.

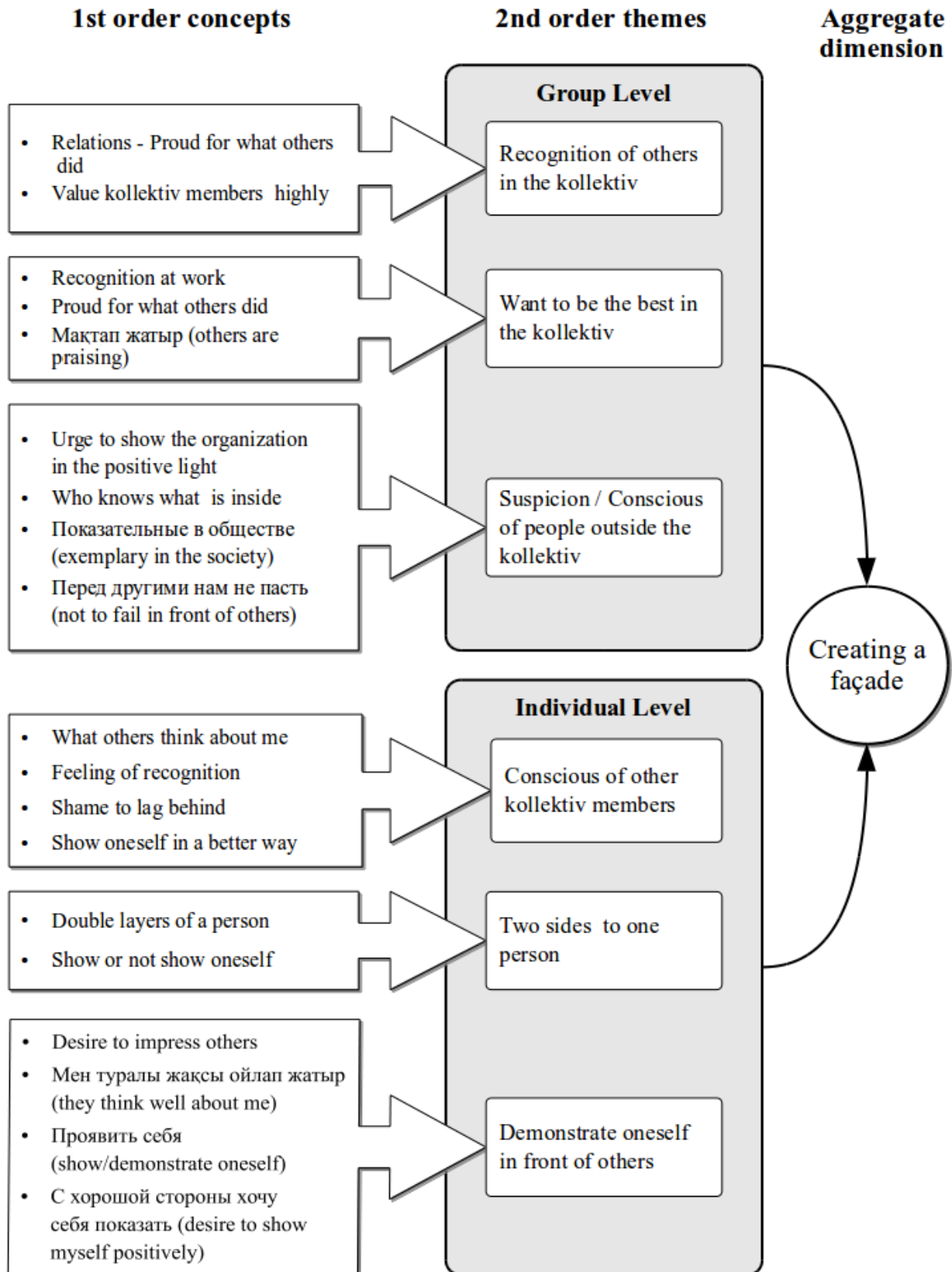


Figure 2. A sample of data structure for an aggregate dimension (one aspect of the social unconscious)

Although all the precautions such as transcribing and even analysing in the original language were taken to keep the originality of the data, I still felt that writing up in a language other than that which the data itself speaks is enough to lose some nuances. This is most discernible in socio-cultural aspects and particularly when missing the proverbs and idioms as most of these are context dependent and would not make sense if translated directly (Xian, 2008). Although I tried to find the matching idioms in English with help of my researcher friends and a proof reader, as I mentioned earlier, it was still a very tedious and most of the times a process that did not yield much satisfaction.

3.7. Chapter summary

This chapter described the methodological approaches used for this study ranging from the philosophical choice for the research to sampling, collecting and analysing the empirical material. Semi-structured interviews, photo-elicitation and diaries were chosen as methodological tools to explore the emotions and power relations in the chosen organizations. Each of these has been discussed in terms of theoretical fit to this study and personal experience of applying them in the field. Considering the nature of research, the inductive approach grounded on empirical data was deemed suitable for uncovering the ways organizational learning takes place in the organizations under investigation. In addition, I have identified the methodological as well as personal challenges relating to this research endeavour. The following chapter presents my findings on the collected data. It was decided to present this data mainly in the form of vignettes in order to convey directly the research participants' experiences.

4. 'The ways we do things in here'

4.1. Introduction

This chapter is focused on the data generated from the empirical study and highlights the established organizational dynamics in the focal organizations through addressing five aspects of the social unconscious. This chapter is divided into two parts. Initially I introduce each of these aspects and discuss the emotions and organizational power relations around them. Subsequently, I present three vignettes to illustrate the complexity of organizational processes where several of the aspects of the social unconscious come into play simultaneously.

The first part of the chapter focuses on constructs identified from the analysis of the data; aspects of the social unconscious. To this end, this part is divided into five sections where each aspect is interpreted in terms of the social and unconscious emotions in which it is manifested as well as the ways in which these emotions define and normalise each particular social unconscious, and by so doing, reinforce it as part of organizational power relations. The five aspects of the social unconscious are presented in order of importance following the manner in which I treated the data collected from photo-elicitation. The kollektiv was the most emphasised theme captured in the photo-elicitation and when comparing the Soviet and the new times, people seemed most concerned about kollektiv relations at work. Hence the first three social unconscious constructs underpin the importance of collective relations in organizations. For instance, the first aspect of social unconscious 'searching for the kollektiv' demonstrates the importance of the kollektiv relations; the second aspect – nor border between work and private - addresses how close-knit collective relations at work distil into people's private lives. The third entitled 'the new is too individualistic and everybody is on their own' addresses the resistance to change and reluctance of some to adapt to current organizational requirements. The forth gives an account of organizational dynamics around the belief of there being 'no room for mistakes' for even under this aspect the collective relations among people impact upon the way people deal with mistakes. The last dimension of the social unconscious elaborates on the urge to create a façade individually or as a kollektiv. This refers to the tendency, regardless of how contradictory it may appear in the context of such close-knit conditions at work, for individuals to create a façade in

front of each other. The sets of emotions pertaining to each aspect of the social unconscious are given below in Table 2.

Three vignettes are presented in the second part of the chapter. Each of the vignettes is taken from the interviews; they provide evidence of the ‘organization-in-mind’ of the individuals who uttered the conversations depicted in them. Moreover, these vignettes demonstrate the complexity in organizational processes and how several of the aspects of social unconscious come into play in everyday work and serve to show how the complex ways emotions encourage organizational power relations.

Table 2. Sets of social and unconscious emotions around five aspects of the social unconscious

Social unconscious	
1. <i>Searching for the kollektiv</i>	<p>Social emotions: empathy, admiration; pride for the other, worry about the other, care about the other; sense of belongingness; reliance on others in the kollektiv</p> <p>Unconscious: identification</p>
2. <i>No border between work and private</i>	<p>Social emotions: empathy, attachment, affinity, liking, family-like feelings; unity, coherence</p> <p>Unconscious: identification</p>
3. <i>New is too individualistic and everybody is one their own</i>	<p>Social emotions: anger, fear (new is a threat to the kollektiv relations), fear of using new technology, anxiety of change, disappointment, frustration, disconnected, suspicion (towards the young)</p> <p>Unconscious - projection (of uncomfortable feelings to the young people); projective identification (where the elder and the young mutually enact established relations and share opposing emotions towards each other)</p>
4. <i>No room for mistakes</i>	<p>Social emotions: embarrassment, fear of making mistakes, shame, distrust, anxiety of failure, guilt</p> <p>Reaction of others to made mistakes: individuals either blamed for mistakes, afraid and ashamed; or grateful and thankful, when what was felt as mistake has been negotiated</p> <p>Unconscious: projection (of fear and embarrassment on other), introjections (of no room for mistakes and checking the others), projective identification</p>
5. <i>Creating a façade</i>	<p>Social emotions: mistrust in one's own ability, insecurity, conscious/fear of others, suspicion (of others); lack of self-confidence; mistrust in others (whom they don't know well)</p> <p>Unconscious: projection, anxiety of being negatively judged</p>

4.2. Searching for the kollektiv

4.2.1. Social and unconscious emotions

The interrelated feelings shared among colleagues around this aspect of the social unconscious are: belongingness, admiration, empathy, being proud of what others do, and reliance on the others in the kollektiv. People are driven by a general taken-for-granted effort of feeling for the other, actively searching for consensus and relying on others in the kollektiv. The sense of belongingness to their kollektiv is one of the prominent felt emotions shared by the research participants and was narrated in the following way:

‘Whatever happens in the organization is mine... people think and worry about the university in general... they think of the future of the university, how it is growing and developing... they all think of such things... I also do that... even if we don’t talk about it, there is something we all feel deep inside... we feel that we belong here... sense of ownership, the feeling of second home’ (5-5-47, teacher).

The kollektiv plays a very important role in the lives of people for at work, and every person knows that ‘there is a kollektiv who waits for him’ (3-1-23, managing director). People ‘look for each other, greet each other when they enter the office in the morning’ (3-10-32, journalist), and this is not only among those sharing an office but applies to everyone at work. ‘We don’t just talk only to one person, we communicate with everybody. This is not only me. Everybody is in the kollektiv’ (5-8-50, deputy dean). People at work ‘are used to each other, we know what others want and we are on common ground (тілімізді таба аламыз)’ (1-1-1, math teacher).

These feelings make people close to each other at work. For instance, one teacher has the habit of sharing everything with the others in the kollektiv. ‘There is [name of the colleague], to whom I always report what I have done at my classes... my direct boss for two years... He became like my own father. I am very happy to share... I tell everything to him’ (5-4-46, teacher of Kazakh language). The relations among kollektiv members ‘develops into... it is more than just a colleague... more than just a co-worker... you are happy for him... if he feels happy, you sympathize if he feels pain and agony’ (4-6-41, safety officer).

From these narratives, it can be observed that people care about each other not only as colleagues, but as individual persons and such intentions gradually extend from work related issues to their private lives. 'For example, if there is something tragic happens in one's life, we all worry, we cannot forget, we feel as if it happened to us personally' (1-1-1, maths teacher). Moreover, such dynamics grow into attachments among people at work, and as the teacher of Kazakh language argued, she missed her university while she was away on a business trip. She missed it so much that she 'wanted to be back to work and has seen the university in (her) dreams' (5-4-46). Similarly, one accountant 'even missed the kollektiv when (she was) on holiday... anyway... it felt as if something is missing... and it was missing' (2-10-21). Such feelings of belongingness to the kollektiv morph in to seeing the other as 'more than just a colleague' have been further associated with the feeling of respect and being happy and proud for others. As one journalist put it, 'the way they understand me at work and I them, makes me respect them more and more', (3-6-28) and as the maths teacher argued 'if kollektiv is happy, we are also happy' (1-1-1). She even refers to herself as 'we', that is, as a group. As such, the members of one kollektiv internalize each other's feelings and this extends to internalization of other's achievements or feeling proud for what others undertake. During the interview with the head of the Kazakh languages department in organization five, he proudly talked about one of his colleagues who had just arrived back from a conference. He was happy and proud of her achievements, and added: 'how can't you be proud of them? Somewhere inside, I am always happy for them... I wish them all the best and deep down wish them best of luck.' (5-1-43) The social unconscious dimension 'searching for the kollektiv' manifested in the close-knit relations among the members of one kollektiv emerges as the unconscious emotion of identification when people relate closely with the other: for instance, the maths teacher referring to herself as 'we' and not dividing herself from the kollektiv. Similarly, the following statement of the chief accountant from organization two exemplified this when she said, it feels 'so close that you do not feel yourself apart... no separate me and the kollektiv, but feels like myself and the kollektiv is one... connected' (2-7-18, chief accountant).

Further, belongingness and identification with others in the kollektiv develop into a reliance on other people at work. For example, as the safety officer in organization four argued, 'I know, I work with them, I know that he will never let me down... like a brother... the shoulder of the

person next to you, I feel that confidence in them' (4-6-41). This was further reinforced by the chief accountant who claimed that 'any of us (in the kollektiv) not only me, any of my employees can rest their heads in the shoulders of the other and that person will not be pushed away' (2-7-18). One journalist explained that even though she sometimes feels that she has not done a great job with her writing, she craves for other colleagues' support because 'they only emphasize her positive achievements' (3-7-29). The feeling of 'having people who will help me' was emphasized as something more than 'just coming to work and collecting the salary' (5-5-47, teacher of English language). These feelings of belongingness and reliance on other kollektiv members may also grow into empathy towards each other, 'care about others feelings, ability to find what is pleasant for them' (5-9-51, teacher of English language), which then shifts from appreciating what he or she is personally to appreciating herself through the eyes of the others in the kollektiv. 'Sometimes I am in an ill mood. Then they approach me and ask how do I do... Even that makes me feel better... gives me a positive vibe. It makes me feel better, because I will know that there are people who think of me. I am not here for nothing. I think like that.' (ibid) Overall, the role of the kollektiv could be summed up with the words of the maths teacher for whom 'the kollektiv and my work are very important... if there is a long weekend or red days that last longer than 2-3 days, I hurry to work, to be frank with you... this is part of my life, my kollektiv and my work are the meaning of my life' (1-1-1, maths teacher).

4.2.2. How is this enacted and reinforced by organizational power relations?

The warm feeling of belongingness and reliance in relation to the other members of one's own organization is enacted the way people think, talk and act. Generally, the kollektiv is perceived as 'a foundation that educates' (vospitanie, in Russian) (1-1-1, maths teacher), and as a space that 'prepares good cadres' (3-8-30, proof-reader). In the words of the maths teacher, 'people come to the kollektiv from all over the place... but the great power of the kollektiv draws everybody towards it, and soon they all flow in one direction... even those who are misbehaving a little get the right direction literally in one month... those who are here for longer get used to each other very much (арын арлап, зарын зарлап, сiңiciп кетедi), that is the power of the kollektiv' (1-1-1, maths teacher). Such feelings and the ways people develop close relations can be untangled as emerging from three interrelated habits enacted in organizations: first is the other's relation to the individual, that is, reliance on the other to prompt, help and evaluate the self; second, the

tendency to assign this role to the boss; and third, being accountable in front of each other in the kollektiv. Below these are addressed in turn.

First, there is a strong belief that others are needed to prompt one's actions and talk about one's achievements. For example, when asked about their own achievements or positive deeds, the research respondents uttered similar responses to the one the deputy managing director gave: 'I am not sure I can tell about my faithfulness... you ask the others... but I can tell about others' (3-2-24). One teacher talked about a recent social event, the International Women's Day celebration in his department. He was the main organizer of this event; he chose the menu for the evening and the presents given to women in the department. However, he chose to evaluate the outcome of this event in the following way. On the bus to work the day after the party he met one of his female colleagues who was absent from the party. In the course of their conversation he mentioned that there was a party that she missed, to which the female colleague answered 'yes, seems the party was a great success' (5-2-44, teacher of Kazakh language). He proudly said that this is the proof that the party went well, as the people who participated felt that it was even worthy of sharing with those who missed it. Hence, people are motivated by how others value one's efforts. One does not, for example, perform at the school party because he or she is good at it but rather, the individual is motivated by other people saying that he/she is good. Such behaviour convinces people that one must rely on others' opinions, frequently those given by other members of the kollektiv, to support one's sense of self.

Secondly, some research participants suggested that their bosses and the heads of departments or sections should take the initiative and assume the lead. For instance, the Russian language teacher maintained that it was 'the task of a good boss to find the way to teachers' hearts, feel and unveil their exceptional abilities' (1-10-10). Such expectations with respect to what heads should do are enacted in everyday work relations, for instance, by highlighting their notable role at work. According to one respondent this included the sense of unity and positive mood in her organization which were created 'thanks to the managing director' (3-10-32, journalist), and in the opinion of another interviewee, 'I do not feel the difficulties of work, since the principal is a nice person' (1-3-3B, teacher of physics). Moreover, bosses are believed to be able to resolve problems should two equal status employees disagree on an outcome, 'I am a specialist and you are a specialist, we do not want to obey each other... so there should be one boss between us,

right?’ (3-2-24, deputy managing director) Consequently, these attributions make the heads become aware that ‘the kollektiv expects it’ (3-1-23, managing director), renders them self-conscious of their own behaviour and makes them ‘feel the scrutiny’ (3-2-24, deputy managing director).

Third, close relations among the kollektiv members are enacted with a compulsion to correct each other and there is a tendency to assume that people’s actions should be corrected by others. The following words of the deputy managing director of organization three illustrate the legitimacy of people within one organization to take steps to correct each other’s behaviour:

‘People here (within the kollektiv) are more emotionally bound to each other... and unofficial and personal relations define many things... If one is late to work, anyone who have seen that person entering the corridor will question him or her: why that person is late... then the person who was late explains the situation... the kollektiv will, of course, be angry at you, shout at you, it all happens informally... they solve the problem there... and make sure that you are not late again (laughs)’ (3-2-24, deputy managing director).

The next related assumption, in cases when someone has done something wrong, it is the necessity to share and let know that person what is right and what is wrong. Not to do this is considered to have a negative effect on the person who was wrong.

‘If one did wrong or misbehaved and got scolded by the chief... this should be discussed within the kollektiv - What was wrong? Why he did it wrong? - The person who misbehaved should know the opinion of the kollektiv... the chief is not a kollektiv! ...people who surround you know much more and observe much more than the chief, they know better’ (3-3-25, chief accountant).

The technical manager in organization two endorsed this view in the following: ‘the boss scolds because he gets paid for that, but when someone of yours (meaning the members of the kollektiv) talks to you, believe me, it is perceived very differently’ (2-3-14). He believes that sometimes administrative punishment is better tolerated than the impact of the kollektiv. It emerges that openly sharing and discussing the individual’s and the group’s behaviour is a common practice

that contributes to the perceived self-corrective nature of the kollektiv. The following excerpt illustrates a kollektiv-wide discussion of a party night:

‘Next day after the party we definitely gather in the common room, we share the leftovers from the party... with the purpose of ... so to say... sharing each other’s opinion about the last night... how was it... how it went... if there are any minuses, we say that... we propose how to do better for the next time... this was wrong, that was wrong...’ (3-13-35 supply manager) This happens because ‘when we discuss something everybody tells what is in their mind... freely and openly... then we come to one agreement’ (1-2-2, office manager)

The dynamics unroll in such a way that people are not only accountable in front of their bosses or for their position at work, but also are accountable in front of the kollektiv. There is self-reflection and the kollektiv-self-reflection that one should consider, which resonates with delegating part of superego to the kollektiv. This also sheds light on the identification of the kollektiv members with each other.

4.3. No border between work and private life

This aspect of the social unconscious illustrates how close-knit relations among the kollektiv members at work impact upon their private lives. Concerning the emotions shared among people in a kollektiv, family-like feelings, empathy among the people at work and gradual (unconscious) identification with other kollektiv members might account for this aspect of the social unconscious. These social and unconscious emotions are similar to those covered earlier under the ‘searching for the kollektiv’ aspect, therefore it is reasonable to say that ‘no border between work and private life’ is the result of dynamic relations among kollektiv members. The social unconscious dimension of ‘no border between work and private life’ moves beyond ‘searching for the kollektiv’ and elaborates on how such emotions at work extend to some individuals relating to each other as if they are part of one family and have, in effect, no differentiation between their work and private affairs.

4.3.1. Social and unconscious emotions

Some colleagues feel family-like connections towards each other; Mrs. Elton, the chief accountant (of organisation three) mentioned: ‘my family is where I am, and I am at work’ (3-3-25) and other respondents commented about their workplace as follows: ‘it is like (my) second home’ (1-1-1; 1-3-3; 5-5-47; 5-9-51); ‘second family’ (4-2-37); ‘like relatives whom I have known for ages’ (3-10-32); and, like ‘a big and friendly family’ (2-11-22). Some even argued that ‘the workplace should feel like a second home’ (5-5-47).

Vignette 1: ‘Kollektiv is my mirror’

The following vignette is told by an elementary school teacher who described her work time.

‘There is nobody we do not know. That is why at work we all greet each other, ask how they do. Share all the news about work... about home and family. Nothing can be hidden... From dawn to dusk, all our lives are like on the mirror, everybody knows everything. First of all, we feel free in front of each other. Second, it is immediately visible how other people feel. If somebody is happy, we share what is that about. If somebody had guests the evening before, we bring some leftovers to share. If there is a sad thing in the family, we share, we support...’ (1-3-3A, Darya, elementary school teacher)

According to Darya, along with work related matters, people at work discuss family related things, and this seems to happen automatically as ‘nothing can be hidden’. That is, people at work are incapable of hiding anything from each other or it seems to be felt as if they are not even allowed to do so. The metaphor of work as a mirror is a compelling comparison and could suggest that is not even possible to hide anything, as all staff members are in front of the mirror. In addition, this metaphor perhaps explains the unconscious identification with the others in the kollektiv because individuals within one kollektiv are assumed to be visible to each other like seeing them in the mirror. Next, Darya refers to the time spent at work as lasting from dawn to dusk, and this could suggest that she does not differentiate time spent at work from that spent at home. She may feel that she is at work all the time, or, as she relates to the colleagues as if to family members, perhaps she is always with her family. Finally, people at work seem to share all

their positive and negative experiences with each other, and it is reasonable to say that this is associated with empathy and their ability to feel how others feel.

Reflecting on the above example, it appears that individuals establish close relations and get used to being with each other. This is discernible in their narratives on their difficulty or the near impossibility for them to contemplate leaving the kollektiv. Mrs. Elton shared her feelings when ‘two of my girls (referring to the junior accountants) are getting married, so it’s a pity let them go... one has gone already, the other is going away in two days... I regret they are going away... last year one girl got married and moved away, we went to her wedding, to see her off’ (3-3-25). The chief accountant of organization two, referring to close relations among the kollektiv members, stated: ‘I feel that I cannot imagine myself without this company... my husband says that I will leave (this job) only when I retire or even stay and work after I retire, and we thought of moving elsewhere when the child grows up for her studies, but now I say that most probably he will move with the child and I stay here (with the kollektiv), and we laugh’ (2-7-18).

The feeling of unity and coherence among people at work is further associated with work being like home. For instance, the printer in organization four admitted that he had worked with the same people for so long and become so used to them that ‘what is his team and what is home is the same’ and because of the odd hours he works he does not see his own children as much as some colleagues in the printing shop (4-2-37). The head of the department agreed with this statement and added that even ‘when somebody is away at a conference, somewhere deep in my heart... I always wait for them to come back as if for somebody from the family.’ (5-1-43). Similarly, another teacher reported the following: ‘I am so used to this environment... I guess there is love developed about my workplace. I guess, you cannot describe it as love... maybe attachment/affinity (Bauir basu, in Kazakh). Nobody ever feels detached...’ (5-4-46, Kazakh language teacher)

Vignette 2: ‘A boss worries about the private lives of the employees’

This vignette illustrates the managing director’s concern about the employees’ private lives and how that may impact on work matters.

'For example, if there was a dormitory for young families. I dream about that... Salaries are low, rents are high. When I think about that I feel very sorry. My heart hurts for them. Alas! How are they going to buy a house for themselves? When an employee is worried about those sorts of things, if their wives are crying and children are hungry, then there is no motivation for work. That does not only impact on that particular person's work, it impacts on the whole kollektiv. That will negatively impact upon our efficiency at work. We should start there.' (3-1-23)

Even heads of departments seem to worry about the private lives of employees, and it is exemplified above in the narrative of Frank, the managing director of organization three, when he worries about young employees who rent apartments and have a long commute to work every day. According to Frank, it is important to consider the private lives of employees and he seems to be genuinely worried about them. He thinks that the problems in their private lives have a negative impact at work; not only regarding that person's work but because all the staff are so close to each other, it can negatively impact upon everybody in the workplace. This could refer to both his empathy and family-like feelings toward other kollektiv members but also his worry about work efficiency. Regarding work efficiency, he assumes the (unconscious) identification among people and aware that what one person feels impacts upon the other. Turning to the results of the photo-elicitation, as the head of the department reported, 'here there are family-like relations among people' (5-1-43).

4.3.2. How is this enacted and reinforced by organizational power relations?

Such close-knit relations among people in one kollektiv, the affinity and attachment felt toward each other, and identification as a result of it, are systematically enacted in their actions. It is discernible through four interconnected processes: (1) the ways people communicate outside work; (2) how private lives are considered at work; (3) people spending long hours at work; and, (4) doing each other's jobs when necessary.

Colleagues communicate outside work

Colleagues continue their relations outside of work, since it is claimed that they 'don't have much opportunity to talk to each other at work, so we (they) prefer to invite each other home and talk

there' (5-8-50, vice-dean). This extends to family related events, for instance two persons mentioned that when one of their colleagues had a daughter, several colleagues gathered money, bought a present and visited him at home to congratulate him and his wife personally (5-6-48; 5-9-51). In addition to commemorating special events, they go skiing, visit karaoke, and gather for evening drinks (3-10-32, journalist). Their out of work communication is not limited to invitations but extends to everyday activities such as helping each other with family chores. For instance, one teacher mentioned that since he does not have a car, he could ask his boss to help to deliver drinking water to his house, and 'he drives to the shop without any argument' (5-9-51) and delivers (bottled drinking) water to his house. People even lend money to each other at work (3-2-24, deputy managing director). Similarly, one accountant (2-8-19) mentioned that she and her colleagues in her office were good friends and spend their free time together so that their children can play together. Such close-knit relations develop warm relations toward each other at work, 'people become considerate of each other... develop the feeling of affinity... when sorrow comes to your house, others will support you... when you ask them, they will stand for you... so there is no limit between work or personal' (5-6-48, head of the economics department).

Private life is considered at work

Likewise, at work, people's private lives are also considered. Since they communicate outside work, they know about family matters and their daily greetings of 'how do you do?' usually extend to all the family members. For instance, the managing director usually pays a visit to every office and 'I ask 'how do they do?' that day, for example, I even ask how is one of the employee's children who studies in a foreign country... because they expect me to ask that too... It is nothing materialistic; it is just for the sake of feelings (which was termed as 'konile karau', in Kazakh). My visits influence people's communication at work for the whole day' (3-1-23). The section heads are interested in the private lives of their employees, and as James, the head of the English department stated, he wants to know if 'they have problems in their families, problems with their health, what do they think about their work, are they happy with their salary, do they get their salary on time... maybe they have got a loan to repay... maybe they are looking for an additional job elsewhere' (5-3-45). Following this, James recalled when one teacher was looking for an additional job because his spouse was laid off and he needed an additional income. He

reported that the teacher did not look happy at work, so he asked him what was going on. After he learned of the situation, they ‘thought about it all together, creatively’ (ibid) and over time found a way forward. In the following semester there were new classes opening and he offered additional hours to the teacher which helped to increase his salary. From this, James highlighted two positive outcomes: first, the teacher knew that he was not alone and there were people who cared about him, and second, since James knew about the teacher’s situation, he could offer him the hours, instead of looking for somebody else to take up the work. James felt happy about helping out in this way and reported that that teacher was satisfied: ‘the person’s mood has changed at work’ (ibid).

Working long hours

Close-knit relations at work make people feel work is like home, which in turn sees people ending up spending long hours together at work and helping each other out, which are all voluntarily undertaken. For example, James argued that all the guys in his department stay at work after 6pm to do various work related projects with students such as shooting short films and preparing theatrical performances in English which are targeted at improving their English language skills.

‘I stay after 6pm and go home around 9 or 10pm- 85% of my time. Not every day. Some days we stay at work until 12pm or 1am. We share ideas, discuss them. That takes time’. When questioned about his family status, he said that he is married and has two children, and regarding his long working hours, he reported that ‘there an agreement within my family. On weekends I am always at home. My wife shares my philosophy, my passion to work. That is very helpful... her understanding’ (5-3-45).

Similarly, the chief accountant of organization two mentioned that frequently there are occasions when the managing director is busy, late in the evenings and asks some of the accountants whose responsibilities are related to his work to stay after working hours. Once it was the cashier who was asked to stay, and ‘I stayed with her and two more girls wanted to stay because we could help her in case there was too much to do for one person, and sometimes we just stay to keep

each other company, we stay anyway together' (2-7-18). One teacher explained his eagerness to work over and above regular hours in the following way: 'teachers here work from nine till six, but if it is necessary they can come on Saturday or Sunday... people come and work, body and soul...' (5-2-44, Kazakh language teacher)

Vignette 3: 'Doing each other's jobs'

'Everybody has their own responsibility, one is an accountant, another is a manager or a supply officer, but if we cannot manage our workload, we help each other... if I am not managing, they help me, or I may ask for help, they never decline, we can dive into a problem all together, investigate and solve it, even two departments come together and solve it, and nobody even think twice about doing otherwise' (2-7-18, the chief accountant).

From this comment made by an accountant in organisation two, it appears that people feel so close, that apart from dealing with their own workload, they eagerly undertake colleagues' work, and, as the head of marketing in organisation five argued, 'they are ready to do other unexpected things that occur within the work processes. I can clearly observe that' (5-7-49, Head of marketing department). Likewise, Konstantin, the supply chain manager of organization four, reported times when he helped out his colleagues in the workshop and the company driver. Once he carried the boxes: 'guys are moving boxes, so many of them, heavy ones... so I went to the shop floor, rolled my sleeves up and moved boxes, friendly and happily, and this also motivates them, you know, you know the saying, a good general never leaves his army' (4-3-38). On another occasion he gave a lift to the accountants because the driver who was supposed to take them was double booked. Konstantin mentioned that 'any other day I can ask him (the driver) for a personal favour or he can ask me, it is not only work that unites us here' (ibid). In both situations the colleagues were busy and he felt they needed his help, and colleagues were happy for his help. Moreover, he reported that he may have been at their situation, needing the help, and he is sure that the others in the kollektiv would act likewise. He rationalized this as flexibility and added that if he is late to work or does not show up, others would be more forgiving because of such informal and flexible relations among the kollektiv members. This degree of flexibility and attitude seems to be appreciated by others, and affects the relation between him and others and, of

course, his salary: ‘I may be late one day, or not show up somewhere, but nobody is going to penalize me for that... some days I am asked to work on the weekends or on holidays or stay late, no problems... I am at the ready... and, of course, all that is compensated in additional bonuses to my salary as well’ (ibid).

4.4. The new is too individualistic and everybody is on their own

‘The new is too individualistic and people are on their own’ is another aspect of the shared social unconscious. It is expressed with the social emotions of anger and non acceptance or perhaps disappointment regarding how things are in the new times. This is compensated for by recalling nostalgic and warm feelings about the old times. The main reason why things are getting ‘too individualistic’ could be attributed to the consequences of the newly established market economy wherein collective efforts are no longer a priority. Some research participants might perceive this phenomenon as a threat to their established relations and feel that colleagues are disconnected from each other, especially in the type of work relations to which they aspire. They long for a warm relationship shared amongst all. In the Soviet times, collective work was encouraged and this aspect of the social unconscious highlights how some people still unconsciously act as if this is the only way to go on.

4.4.1. Social and unconscious emotions

When ‘the new is too individualistic’ the organization is felt in the following way: ‘there is no connection between them... Everybody has their own ‘I’ (5-4-46, Kazakh language teacher, photo-elicitation) and ‘everybody is on their own’ (2-8-19, accountant, photo-elicitation). The first statement expressing that everybody has their own ‘I’ implies that there is no room for others and this is accompanied by anger and disappointment which are exacerbated by people not being as close as they might be expected to be regarding each other at work. Moreover, as one accountant in organization two argued, in the new times ‘... everybody is in their own world, they will do their work, of course, but he or she will not share anything with anybody, there is no contact between people... and it feels cold’ (2-9-20, photo-elicitation). The old Soviet workplace by contrast, according to the same respondent, felt ‘constantly warm’.

Generally, the younger generation is perceived to be growing up to be more independent and this orientation is appreciated as it fits well with present day requirements. As one teacher argued:

‘we (the older generation) cannot say ‘I did it’, we cannot bring ourselves to say ‘it is mine’... we are left behind a bit... but now students, even if they do something very little, they say ‘I have done it’... for example, nowadays we are asked to develop students’ ‘I’... they should say that they did something... for example, ‘I did it’, ‘I can do this or that’... but we ourselves cannot do that... we are not used to it... from the beginning we did not do anything for ourselves but for our class, for our group... all of us together...’
(Anna, the elementary school teacher, 1-11-11B)

The difficulties with coping with the requirements of the new style of teaching such as typing all teaching documents and keeping data in the computer was a big change for her and many other teachers at the rural school who had always used only pen and paper for their work. For example, Anna is a teacher with twenty years of experience at this school and until recently she was not required to use computers and all her teaching materials were paper based. Now however the staff members are required to document everything in electronic form and she is frustrated.

Vignette 4: ‘Cannot use a computer’

‘If I only knew how to put all my teaching materials in the computer, wouldn’t I be one of the best teachers here? If I only knew how to use it (the computer)... instead, if I need to write something, I beg the young teachers... I call one of them with their laptops, and then she writes it into the computer, I dictate the text, that is why everything is limping (lagging behind). I have five classes a day, but she (a young teacher who knows computer) cannot type everything for me every day, so all the work piles up... if I had computer at home, I would do it myself, I would learn from my kids... but at the moment I cannot afford one... and this is not only my situation, I think around 70% of the village is the same’ (Anna, 1-11-11B)

Anna rationalizes her resistance to change through her claimed inability to use a computer, lack of computer being provided at work, and most pressing of all, the lack of suitable training at the

school. First, it is clear that she does not have a computer and it seems she is not going to get one soon either. Although she acknowledges that that is the not the most efficient way of doing it, she begs the young teachers to type all her documents. Perhaps she is afraid to start the typing by herself, so instead of borrowing a computer she asks the young teachers to do it for her. There is a computer room in the school where computers are available to use out of class hours, but it seems using those computers is not an option for Anna. She instead blames the lack of technology, and it seems she is reluctant to learn how to use the computer. It appears that struggle between the taken-for-granted (old) ways of doing things and the new requirements following the change are generally characterized by frustration, fear of using the new technology, and even some degree of resistance or lack of motivation to learn how to use any of the technology that is available.

Anna's frustration and anger seems to be the complete opposite to the confession made regarding laptops by the head of the marketing department who was working in the university located near a large city. Her opinion about computers seems to coincide with Anna's comfort regarding her papers: 'for my departmental meeting, I take my laptop, because I lose papers. You see here in front of me. This is the most clean and structured condition. Usually it is much worse. But in my laptop everything is in order. I adore my laptop.' (5-7-49).

Recall the school. When describing the general situation, the principal of the school, Alexei, acknowledged that young teachers arrive with new and innovative ideas. He however claimed he regrets that the very few young teachers who had joined recently did not make a difference, because quickly, they too fell into the established ways of doing things. In his opinion, there were too few of them to make a difference, and the long-established kollektiv was not going to bend to their views. However, the way Alexei relates to these young teachers at work, as evidenced in his narrative below, brings into question his stance and the following vignette sheds light on Alexei's feelings about the performance of several of the young teachers.

Vignette 5: 'The ways young teachers work'

Alexei experienced the following when he entered a classroom one afternoon and found four young teachers preparing their next day's classes.

'They put their headphones on not to disturb each other... so they don't hear each other... work is done by sitting together, asking each other, giving each other advice... but those four... four headsets in the ears... four laptops in front of them... Even though they sit together, I don't consider them together!'

'Well done, you are working together', I say... they nod affirmingly... it is good to be together...there is a saying 'it is better to be together than alone'... but... poor them... if only they really could see each other... headphones in the ears, staring at their own computers... that is not the way they work together... I just ridicule them and say 'that is the way to work together, of course, by sitting in one room' and leave the classroom, not sure if they understand that or do they?' (1-4-4)

In this extract, the principal appears angry at the young teachers because this particular way of preparing classes contradicts the established social norms that the principal has in mind. These young teachers, deep in silent self-contemplation while sitting next to each other and working on their own, were not a pleasant sight for him, and in fact, what they were doing worked against his beliefs. Alexei did not recognize the work done individually as valid work, because 'the work is done by asking each other, giving advice', and the young teachers failed to show this sharing. To him, while preparing classes, the teachers should discuss their views openly and needed to talk to each other in order to be able to call it work. He seemingly fails to understand this because the methods of the young teachers contradict his 'organization-in-mind', and thus it makes him angry. With respect to this issue of individuals endeavouring alone, the cameraman in organization three commented on this matter in the following way: 'I don't know what do you want to hear... but in the old times, people really worked... now what... just a show off... can you imagine that?' (3-12-34). He and many others are of the opinion that people sitting and working by themselves is not a good sign. It would appear that some established workers held onto the ideal of oral communication and learning from each other, and could not entertain the notion of individuals learning on their own.

Alexei for one was not convinced that this mode was efficient and queried why staff would sit next to each other if they were not talking. Faced with what young teachers do, and the fact that this does not fit the organizational norms in the principal's mind, he pokes fun at them. It can be

seen that in this scenario, his anxiety regarding change is expressed in anger and ridicule. Thus it is safe to say that anxiety related to change and the social unconscious aspect ‘the new is too individualistic’ itself is a defence against the systemic change occurring in the society. This illustrates the struggle between the taken-for-granted (old time) ways of doing things and the new requirements following the change. In general, in organization one the principal’s wish to turn the school into an innovative workplace was overridden by anger and the anxiety of change.

Similarly, in organisation three, the chief accountant’s anxiety regarding change appeared to encourage her to project, what in her eyes was the unpleasant trend of being too individualistic, onto young people. She pointed out that young people at work ‘tend to separate themselves and create small groups in separate relations’ (3-3-25) and strongly warned that such things could grow into bad habits in the future. One more example, given against younger people, was the belief that in the old times, co-workers ‘were more tolerant to each other, but the modern generation, perceives things differently... they perceive the environment not the same way... they think of only themselves, to be frank with you... yes.... There are signs of selfishness... egoism, intolerance to critique...’ (Russian language teacher, 1-10-10) Regarding this, one research participant associated me, the researcher, with the new times and I became the object of his emotions regarding how he felt about the new times. As mentioned earlier in chapter 3, he ridiculed me for nodding at the comments he made while looking at the photo depicting the old times and suddenly retorted ‘you are nodding at me, but what do you remember?!’ (3-12-34). Anxiety is not directly discernible, but it is a negative and uncomfortable feeling that human beings unconsciously disown by attributing to other people. It is not uncommon that people project their anxiety on to young people as they are often assumed to be the carriers and advocates of the new times.

4.4.2. How is this enacted and reinforced by organizational power relations?

The aforementioned anxiety regarding change that is manifested in the battle between the pleasant old times and the individualistic new times is projected towards young people at work and expressed as anger at their actions. In some cases, this dynamic of projecting negativity about the new times toward the young is further enacted in everyday communication and would appear to shape organizational power relations. The following two vignettes from organization one

illustrate how anxiety regarding change, that is, the elder teachers' fear and frustration is manifested in anger targeted at young teachers. This only serves to push the youngsters to the periphery and to some staff considering them to be outsiders. In detail, vignette number six narrates the way young people can feel abandoned and not supported at work. The two young teachers, Natalie and Kitty, reported that they were feeling afraid of the upcoming check-ups and explain they do not feel support from the other teachers on this matter. The vice-principal's words however shed some light on why they are being abandoned.

Vignette 6: 'The oppressed young'

Kitty argued that there is a list of documents one should prepare for the check up in the teachers' room, and 'it is terrible... I don't understand anything... one document is for something, other document is for something else, and my head spins when I look at it...so I work hard... every day I stay at work until 7pm if necessary to finish all the paperwork' (1-7-7, teacher of English language). Natalie who has worked here for two years said that 'there will be check-ups from the top... so I work on Saturdays and Sundays... too much paperwork...' (1-3-3B, teacher of physics) However, in the vice principal's words, the things are not exactly as the young teacher have described. The vice-principal was dissatisfied with their work, and said that 'one can notice in the afternoons... young girls... all of them, their journals are full of mistakes, they don't fill them in either... I don't know what they do... why don't they check and write all that in the afternoons when they are free?' (1-11-11A, vice-principal)

Concerning her relation to the older teachers, Kitty who started her career at the school only four months before the fieldwork interview said that she does not dare saying anything to the older teachers, 'if they say something I just say 'yes' ... because I don't know myself... I just intuitively do what is right... I don't argue with the elders... they accurately explain what should be done, what should not be done' (1-7-7, teacher of English language). When asked about her personal feelings about her workplace, Kitty admits that 'generally... most of the times even if I say that I regret... I don't regret...that I came here... sometimes I get mad and regret a little... but in comparison with the job of a kindergarten nanny, I was offered instead, I am happy I am here' (ibid).

This vignette illustrates the work dynamics between the two young teachers and the others. They appear to be afraid because of the check-up, have no clear description of its purpose, and they feel alone and abandoned. From their accounts, they work hard in order to be well prepared in advance, stay late and work on the weekends to have the paperwork done. These may be the ways they decide to deal with their anxiety when anticipating the upcoming check-ups. However, their efforts are not appreciated by a member of management who voices the widely shared feelings towards young teachers, i.e. the vice principal regards them as being selfish and not working as hard as the others and he blamed them for not filling in their journals and having too many mistakes.

The older teachers themselves act with suspicion towards the young ones. As the imagined lack of communication exchanged with the younger staff is perceived as negative, this, in turn, is projected on to the young people at work, so that all of the young teachers' behaviours are judged as being completely negative. That is, they are reported as being 'haughty and detached' (5-1-43, head of the department, photo-elicitation) by some other colleagues. Probably such negative feeling towards younger teachers makes older teachers, who have had a good experience in previous check-ups, reluctant to explain about the inspection procedures. Kitty mentioned that there was in fact a list of requirements posted in the staffroom, but that no one had spoken to her about it in a helpful manner and this perhaps contributed to her feeling on her own and making her head spin. This is one example of the new as being too individualistic. This scenario perhaps demonstrates a case when people's sense of being disconnected from each other in the new times is actually projected on to the young people who are left (and feel) abandoned and disconnected. In sum, the disconnected nature of relations is observed between young and the older teachers in organization one. The following vignette demonstrates the general dynamics found among the teachers and these are, in effect, systematically excluding the young members of staff.

Vignette 7: 'Young versus elder divide'

According to the research participants in organization one, there is a clear division of teachers into three age groups: the young teachers who are under thirty, middle range teachers between

30 and 50 years old, and the elders, teachers over 50 years. Since this is a very close-knit kollektiv situated in a small village of 3000 people, teachers do not only communicate at work and for work purposes, but their work relations continue outside work. Since there are no places of social interest except a small concert hall that hosts a couple of amateur concerts per year, they spend their spare time inviting each other to dinner parties and playing cards. Invitations include the teachers and their partners. The age division at school directly translates in their outside-work relations. Elderly teachers have their own circle, and they exclusively invite each other and it is the same with the middle aged teachers. Since there are many of the middle aged and over staff, they are divided into several cohorts. Kitty and Natalie, for example, are young teachers who don't have any circle to which to relate. They communicate with each other, but since they are young and single they are not invited to join in with other age groups and only attend official social gatherings held at the school. These young teachers organize competitions, debates and similar gatherings for the 10th and 11th form pupils at school and socialize with them. This is the only way they spend their leisure time, and Natalie claims she generally feels bored in the village since there are no social activities for her to attend. (From the diary during the data collection and the narratives of two school teachers 1-3-3A and B)

The following observations can be made regarding this scenario. First, the young teachers have become the target of the older teachers' anxiety regarding change because they are associated with the new times. Older teachers experience negative feelings against younger teachers and assign the 'too individualistic' work style to them. For these reasons the young teachers do not fit with the established way of working and that is potentially why they appear odd, and it may be that older teachers simply do not see the youngsters as part of their kollektiv. Second, the work dynamics at the school are directly duplicated outside of it ('no border between work and private life'), and the division among teachers is enacted in the way they socialize outside work. We may therefore conclude that the dynamics in this organization demonstrate the systemic excluding of young people from social activities in the village community, which in turn legitimizes the lack of communication between the different age groups: 'elder teachers talk in their own circle, the same with the middle and younger aged teachers. Young teachers do not disturb the elder... they do not share their problems with them either, I think... Personally, I do not meddle with the

young, the way they dress and the way they talk is different...' (Darya, 1-3-3A, elementary school teacher)

The previous two vignettes effectively illustrate how the aspect of social unconscious regarding 'the new is too individualistic' impacts upon the dynamics at work. This is manifested in older teachers projecting their anxiety of change on the younger teachers, and this creates a division between the staff body, which resulted in young teachers working hard and the other teachers not noticing any of their efforts, apparently because of the unconscious impulses they shared against the youngsters. Further, outside work, such division has become rationalized as them not fitting the age and family status requirements that are needed in order for them to be invited to participate in social activities. Moreover, such a division was illustrated during the interviews in relation to my attempts of group interviews. In the methodology (see chapter 3, section 3.5.1.) I evaluated the two interviews I held in organization one with two respondents. The first pair of participants combined one young teacher and one older teacher whilst the second included two older teachers. It transpired that although the interview with the second pair was relatively successful, the dynamics in the first interview were not as productive because the older teacher answered all the questions, unless I specifically addressed her young colleague. My experience is illustrative of the general nature of the relations between the young and older teachers in the school.

4.5. No room for mistakes

'No room for mistakes' is another aspect of the social unconscious expressed through fear of making mistakes in work related commitments. For example, an AutoCAD designer in organization two said that she was 'very afraid of her job responsibilities... really worried about the work... mistakes... if there are mistakes, if there is a mistake in my drawings... then the ready material will be cut wrongly' (2-4-15). In her case, such worry impelled her to 'approach several people in the shop floor while drawing and beg them to check the drawings' (ibid). Further, the social emotions of shame and embarrassment and defensive reactions of unconscious projection and introjection have been associated with this aspect of the social unconscious.

4.5.1. Social and unconscious emotions

‘No room for mistakes’ is associated with the social emotions of shame and embarrassment, and can result in an acute sense of shock on realizing a mistake, as illustrated in the following two vignettes. First, Frank, the managing director of organization three, relates his experience of how he ended up in hospital after a mistake occurred.

Vignette 8: ‘Wrong photo of the judge’

‘The wrong photo of the judge from the higher court was published, mistakes are made sometimes. Mistakes are thieves... there was a mistake, and the issue (of the newspaper) was out and when I got the phone call the next day... I did not know what to do... I ended up in the hospital with high blood pressure... there are at least 7-8 people who look at the newspaper before it is in print, but nobody noticed it... in front of them (those who called him from the ministry) none of those 7-8 people are accountable, I am the one who is responsible, because that how it works, they ask the director... Of course, I need to find who made the mistake and punish that person, but still I am the first one to get the big blow’ (3-1-23, managing director).

Frank was accountable to one of the senior government ministries. The phone call pointing out the wrongly published photo of a judge made him feel ashamed and embarrassed in front of those who called him up about the error. First, the metaphor he used to describe mistakes is a powerful one. ‘Mistakes are thieves’ thus mistakes are conceptualized as ‘illegal’, since there is ‘no room’ for making them. Second, this conceptualization is confirmed by the people from the top who considered this as such a serious issue that they felt they needed to point out. It would appear that this direct approach is an accepted way to deal with mistakes. Third, after the mistake (i.e. an ‘illegal’ action) had been made, Frank ‘did not know what to do’. Thus, making mistakes induces severe embarrassment and shame and may account for Frank’s deterioration in health after he learned about it. It is such an unacceptable and painful experience that it left the managing director perplexed as beforehand he could not have imagined this event happening. The reality he found himself facing, that, in fact, a very public mistake had been made, are not compatible or comprehensible within the bounds of his work. Forth, although he was the first to get the condemning phone call, he is targeting other employees as those who actually made the mistake.

He perhaps is angry at them and feels the urge to expose the one who included the wrong photo and punish him or her. The following vignette illustrates Emma, the office manager's experience of making a mistake.

Vignette 9: 'Wrong windows'

'Emma was responsible for receiving the orders for production of custom built windows, processing and sending the order to the production department, and shipping them back to the firm's clients. In her example, once she got an order request, processed it and sent the dimensions of the windows to the production shop. The windows were produced and sent to the client. Upon arrival, the client called back and informed her that the dimensions of the windows were wrong. Then Emma opened the purchase order to realize that indeed it was she who had confused the dimensions of the windows and they had been made in the wrong size. She reported that she was ashamed, shocked and cried bitterly at work' (Diary #3, page 12). In her own words: 'I am sitting at my desk in tears not knowing what to do... all the 'wrong' windows would be on me now... I would need to pay from my salary... there were many windows...many, for 10-15 thousand dollars... but [the name of the colleagues sharing the office] said 'Do not worry, we will find the way to sell them'... and [the name of the chief accountant] said that I should not worry... we will take care of it, nobody will make you pay for this... we will think about it... maybe there will be a client who will want that particular size, just write down the right sizes, and they were right... we sold it later to a client who wanted windows in that particular dimension' (2-11-22 and diary part #3, page 12).

Above it can be seen that Emma's experience is similar to Frank in terms of the shock felt when learning of her mistake. This informs us of her sudden realization and her struggle with the utterly contradictory situation she is dealing with; her unconscious assumption of 'no room for mistakes' and the reality that she has done something in error.

Furthermore, the following illustrates introjection of the shared belief that everything should be done 'right'. The anxiety of ensuring we are 'doing everything right' makes Mrs. Elton, the chief accountant of organization three, replicate this in her own behaviour, i.e. not allowing mistakes

by checking up on all her colleagues. In the interview she emphasized that after she arrives in the office, she ‘checks all the offices, who is in who is not in... where are they? Sick? Late? If they are late, they know that they need to have a word with me.’ (3-3-25) It appears that Mrs. Elton feels the urge to prevent things becoming disorganised (i.e. by people being late) by checking and personally making sure everything is running at it should be. She appears afraid that something might go wrong and wants to prevent this by going as far as punishing those who are late, herself, for she claims she has to have a word with them. This orientation has been reinforced by the deputy managing director who mentioned that ‘the kollektiv takes care of itself’ (3-2-24) meaning that recourse to their higher managers is not sought in some instances.

The anxiety felt by some individuals around making mistakes may be projected on to the people around them, whereby others nearby are thought to sense this feeling as well. For instance, the vice-editor-in-chief in organization three usually decided to write any urgent articles himself for the reason that the young people in the office, who are the others onto whom he projects his fear, ‘they are afraid, of course... if they will be assigned to do that task, what are they going to write?’ (3-5-27, deputy editor-in-chief) When there is a situation when an urgent article is required, as he considers himself the most experienced journalist, he proposes his services in order to protect the younger journalists, because he feels that they would be afraid if put in this position. Projection, as a defence mechanism, might illustrate anxiety of failure. When his firm failed to win a big contract, the supply chain manager of organization four, Konstantin, felt direct responsibility for this failure in front of the kollektiv. However, he neutralised this feeling by assigning his own feeling to the kollektiv members. When he came back to his office that fateful day he reported that ‘this (failure to win the contract) somehow pressured everybody... everybody sat at their own desks and thought, ‘shit!’, as if... everyone of them felt guilty... as if... everyone somehow felt this... did not feel right somehow...it felt as if they felt for me, and what I read in their eyes was: that is fine buddy, there will be more contacts to come... they were with me...’ (4-3-38, supply chain manager). Such projection made him feel easier as now it was others who felt embarrassed for the lost contract, however later this feeling changed into him feeling kollektiv’s support.

4.5.2. How is this enacted and reinforced by organizational power relations?

In the focal organizations a number of ways to accommodate ‘no room for mistakes’ was identified. First, it was revealed that it is normalized through the strategies of social admonition and shaming in private, which pushed individuals to maintain self-surveillance. Secondly, it was normalized by solving issues together as a kollektiv. In particular, the ways some people enacted the social unconscious dimension of ‘no room for mistakes’ can be seen in how they dealt with the mistakes explored in the above mentioned examples of Frank, Emma and Mrs. Elton,

Admonishing in public and shaming in private

First, Frank, who ended up in hospital after the phone call about a mistakenly published photograph, later added that ‘of course, I need to find who made the mistake and punish that person, but still I am the first one to get the big blow’ (3-1-23, managing director). It is reasonable to infer that the anxiety around the belief that there is no room for mistakes may be enacted as acts of control or punishment of those who made the mistake. His justification for handing down punishment comes as the result of his anger that was rationalized under need for the prevention of future mistakes. The punishment would take the form of calling an emergency meeting and tracing the steps back to find out who could have possibly chosen the wrong photo and subsequently publicly admonishing that person during the meeting. The fear of mistakes in combination with such a dressing down in public, in front of colleagues in a meeting could make employees feel uneasy about meetings, since some reported that there are times ‘when you break out in a cold sweat... at the meetings... is there any mistake I made? Or if somebody says something about my work...’ (3-8-30, proof reader). So the employees become generally afraid of the meetings and expect the worst to happen during every meeting to which they are invited. ‘There are such situations... sometimes there are such meetings after the issue is out, and there are people who feel like ‘what are the mistakes I made in my writing? I hope I will not be decapitated by the bosses tomorrow’’ (3-6-28, journalist).

In addition to the public admonitions, Frank executes a private shaming process as he argues the following:

‘Nowadays, in general, one cannot force the others to work, fear is not the motivator, one cannot say ‘I will destroy you, or I will lay you off, I will not pay your bonus payment etc’. That is not right. The employees need to respect the heads. For example, there were people who were late to work. I don’t swear or shout at them, because they are of my age. How can you swear? That is why if I meet somebody at the door I calmly say ‘what a shame... what do you want to do about it?’ or ‘Shall I wake you up in the morning?’. The person is so ashamed that he is never late again’ (3-1-23, managing director).

From the collected data it has been revealed that social and private corrective or preventive measures function as disciplinary mechanisms to perpetuate the social unconscious aspect of ‘no room for mistakes’ by normalizing this as organizational power relations. Moreover, shame and embarrassment in front of colleagues and the prospect of being publicly admonished in a meeting may lead to their avoidance by preventing mistakes from happening in the first place. Such fear of possible future mistakes is exemplified by one elementary school teacher, who narrated her experience of participating in a teachers’ dance competition with her colleague. She was ‘worried about her dance partner as he could not dance properly at the rehearsals, regardless of how long they practiced... he was clumsy and, perhaps shy’ (1-8-8, elementary school teacher). Later she revealed that, at the competition, she was ‘happy with his performance... he did very well... seemed he sharpened up... then we had a quarrel about it. I told him to be always like this... dancing properly... I wanted him to perform well...’ (ibid) Although everything was fine at the performance, her anxiety regarding possible failure led to a quarrel with her dance partner where she showed her distrust or lack of confidence in his potential for success. In addition, fear of mistakes shared by colleagues directly influenced the job of the proof reader in organisation three. She was the target of such fears and subject to impulsive defensive reactions as some colleagues reacted angrily when she returned their newspaper articles for correction. Such direct attacks from the journalists forced her to switch to different methods, and she began to ‘ask people if it was not shameful to send it as it is, without any corrections... then they started to understand what is my job... we established some sort of understanding’ (3-8-30). Thus, after several years of working together, several rounds of arguments, and explanatory talks with colleagues, she had eventually reached the space where she felt more at ease and comfortable as

she knew that she ‘will not feel the pressure from others and there is no danger of quarrelling with anybody because what I do is merely my job responsibility’ (ibid).

Solving the problem together

Following Emma’s realization of her mistake, she re-ordered the windows using the right dimensions, and then they put the ‘wrong’ windows in storage. Her colleagues pacified her and promised to help her out with the rejected materials, ‘and they were right... we sold it later to a client who wanted windows in those particular dimensions’ (2-11-22, office manager). Emma mentioned that many such cases happened to her and her colleagues, and the kollektiv was always supportive. She stressed that people at work help each other out in such difficult situations, ‘nobody would say ‘it is your problem, solve it yourself!’’ (ibid) She also attended the daily meeting with her managing director. In this case, ‘the managing director could have said that this is your problem ‘take the windows and deal with it as you wish’... but his relation to us is humane and sympathetic, we can talk to him, no problems, there is a daily 12 o’clock meeting ... there were many screw ups, and you think he is going to make us pay? Of course, not. He just writes them off’ (2-11-22). The mistakes in this case have been discussed and solved without much blaming among the colleagues and this might be why Emma feels grateful to her colleagues. She mentioned that the supportive behaviour of her kollektiv meant that they would not leave her to suffer alone in a difficult situation. Similarly, the deputy dean from organization five endorsed supportive behaviour in the following example:

There was an international exhibition, and some teachers hosted some of the international students. We also divided the tasks among us. But it happened that I gave too many things to do to one of the teachers, asked her to do too much... to bring this, to bring that... Then, she realised that she cannot do all that... she came back and said that she couldn't do this and that, because there was too much to do already, and too much was given on top of everything she had to do. Of course, that was too much to ask ... then I realised that, I apologized for giving her too much to do. She was sorry for not being able to do some of them. It is not like, if I assign tasks, others must do it. There are cases when it is not possible (5-8-50).

In this situation, the teacher could not do all the things she was supposed to do, and she solved it by coming back to the deputy dean and discussing it with her. The deputy dean realised that she has given too much to do and the teacher was sorry for agreeing to do them and not really being able to fulfil the tasks. This situation was not conceptualised as a big problem and was solved by mutual agreement of it being wrong for both parties and by them negotiating a better solution.

4.6. Creating a façade

4.6.1. Social and unconscious emotions

‘Creating a façade’ is the fifth aspect of the social unconscious revealed in this research. This is associated with emotions such as suspicion of others and lack of self-confidence and it works at both individual and group levels. That is, there is anxiety that the self or the group to which one belongs should be good and have a positive impact in front of others. The pressing worry of ‘how people would react to my actions’ or ‘how others will treat me’ (3-3-25) indicate the emotions with which some individuals in the organizations constantly struggle with. It appears there is a battle: each person wants to show that their real self is good in front of the other kollektiv members as one ‘does not want to be bad, I want to show myself from a good side’ (3-13-35, supply manager), but the other’s aim is to reveal bad sides. The same goes for the group to which an individual belongs. In contrast to the individual, when it comes to the group/organizational level, everybody inside the group sticks together to show themselves off in a positive light in front of non-members. In fact, it can be suggested that an insider-outsider divide has developed. This is manifested in a felt or implied difference in the way members of an organization relate to others, in particular to those who do not work in the same organisation. The following two sections elaborate on the ways the members of the kollektiv relate to the other members of the same kollektiv and also to strangers.

Showing off as an individual

In the words of the research participants, they want to find the real self of their colleagues, namely, the acceptable and moral side of an individual, as ‘we show ourselves, as we are, right?’

... Anyway... it will open up regardless, the positive sides, and the negative sides' (3-3-25, chief accountant). There is a belief that there are two sides to every person: the real self and the shown-off self; the former is evaluated as good and desirable whilst the latter is the fake side. The ultimate goal is to find out the real self of the person, whatever that real self may be. For instance, in the following vignette the elementary school teacher, Darya, connects her attempts to show off her best side with maintaining her reputation at work. Darya's narrative recounts her doing her best at work and her inability to miss her classes, whatever it costs.

Vignette 10: 'I cannot miss a class'

'People in the village will say that 'she cannot teach properly', they will say that at the dinner parties... we try not to miss any class, even if I am sick, even if somebody at home is sick, I just give them all the medicine and run to work... they say 'she misses her classes every day and has no sense of responsibility'... I don't want to lose my reputation in front of the kollektiv... then if you miss once, you should cover those classes, and invite the students in the afternoon, you cannot run behind the scheduled programme... if I miss the class children sit there at the class, if they misbehave, one beats the other and if someone is injured... that might end up in an emergency and I will be held responsible for all that because I did not come to teach' (1-3-3A).

This vignette uncovers Darya's anxiety based on her perception of the people in the village and her colleagues who do not believe in her teaching abilities; her expectation is that they are ready to judge her negatively. Darya feels other's opinions about her are necessarily negative and this consequently appears to impact on her reputation amongst all the teachers. This vignette illustrates this teacher's attempt to show off her best self in front of the others, whether it is with respect to the kollektiv members or all the people in the village. Her actions are encouraged by her anxiety of receiving any possible negative evaluation. Regarding this Janus-faced nature of people, one research participant evaluated the key person who featured in the photo-elicitation stimulus by judging him as having an outside and inside: 'perhaps he is the secretary of the communist party... an ideal family... an ideal person... worthy of social attention... but I am sorry to say that inside he is scum...' (3-3-25, photo-elicitation) She also stated her belief that there are invariably two sides to a person, and the conviction behind her words suggests that she

believes people tend to show off or try to hide their 'real' selves because the shown off self is positive and the real self is negative.

It is not surprising that a speculative manner is adopted towards strangers and others in general. Individuals tend to evaluate suspiciously and scan newcomers in their organizations. One journalist described her first encounter with a newcomer who had only spent a couple of weeks in the organization, in a social event with her kollektiv. She presented her feelings in the following way: 'Some people smile to you and you smile to them... but you think why would they do that... it makes you think of the reason beneath... it becomes a little bit suspicious... then you think what else they think about me' (3-11-33, journalist). She appears to be suspicious of the new colleague because she is interested in what he thinks about her, hence it is reasonable to infer that she feels that something is wrong with her or she is not good enough. Both the story given by Darya and this journalist's attitude towards a newcomer informs us of individuals' inner worlds and it might appear that they are lacking self-confidence.

With regards to suspicion of outsiders, an accountant in organization two evaluated her first encounter with me, the researcher, when I entered her shared office. Later, during the interview she argued that 'there is always a smile on their (those who don't live in Kazakhstan) face, I do not know what is inside, but from outside, everything looks so sweet' (2-9-20). It appears that suspicion regarding the unknown person is complicated by feelings that strangers might be not positively disposed or could even be dangerous. In the work context there is suspicion and mistrust felt toward people whom individuals do not know, and some individuals feel they need to communicate with the outsider personally in order to establish a trusting relationship. In the abovementioned case of the newcomer and the journalist, she admitted that during the party she got acquainted with him and ever since they have been on good terms (3-11-33).

At the kollektiv/group level, and presenting another layer of relations, it is possible to say that close-knit relations among kollektiv members and identification with each other inside a kollektiv (see above in the section 'searching for the kollektiv'), generally make people within one kollektiv feel that they truly know each other's real self. Once this state has been achieved, an (unconscious) identification with the kollektiv members neutralises any lack of confidence in the

self as well as fear and suspicion of other kollektiv members. It appears to be rationalized as everyone ‘really’ knowing each other. In day to day exchanges, there are examples of when one approaches the other and says that one’s hairdo does not suit very well, and advises what would suit better. Since this rather cutting comment is made by a fellow kollektiv member whom she identifies with, the target would accept the advice without comment, because it is thought that mistakes are more visible to others in the kollektiv. However, such close relations are built over time and do not apply to newcomers and those whom members do not know well. For instance, in the following vignette, Eleanor, the accountant in organization two, describes the difference in her feelings when her direct boss corrects her mistakes and what she would feel if someone whom she does not know well were to do the same.

Vignette 11: ‘Judging on who makes the remark’

‘If I made a mistake and [the name of the chief accountant] scolded me for that, I just find that mistake, correct and forget about it... but if somebody new at work would scold me it would be absolutely differently, perhaps that person is just niggling... or wants to show/uncover my mistakes, perhaps... I would think like that, but here (in case of the chief accountant correcting her) I do not think like that. It is clear, I made a mistake, she corrected me, i.e. helped me, that is it’ (2-8-19, accountant)

In this vignette, Eleanor differentiates her judgement of the remarks made to her according to who makes it. The aspect of ‘creating a façade’ makes her suspicious of those whom she does not know well, and this might be why she would be suspicious of any remark made by them. On the contrary, she would not judge her close colleagues’ remarks negatively, perceiving them to be justified and then she claims she would react accordingly. Hence, there is an implied insider/outsider divide in the way Eleanor describes this situation and her likely reactions.

The insider/outsider divide and the pressure to show off are uncomfortable feelings sometimes projected to other people. Recall that under the aspect of the social unconscious ‘the new times are too individualistic’ (section 4.3) in organization one, there is a systematic division of younger teachers from the other staff. The pressure of showing off is projected on to the young teachers

by the Russian language teacher who portrayed younger teachers as acting ‘to show themselves... each (young teacher) is just demonstrating their success... work not for the wellbeing of the students, not for the beloved job they have, but just to tick off’ (1-10-10). This example illustrates how the uncomfortable feeling of showing off is unconsciously assigned to the young teachers. This insider/outsider divide and the tendency to ‘create a façade’ apply to individuals as well as to the groups to which individuals belong (see ‘searching for the kollektiv’).

Showing off as a group: Insider vs. Outsider divide

Showing off applies to the group level, to a kollektiv. The kollektiv members (insiders) show off in front of others (outsiders) for there is an urge to show the kollektiv in a good light in front of all outsiders. During an interview, one teacher reacted to my question regarding how her school is different from other similar schools by saying ‘fine, so I should praise it, right?’ (1-10-10, Russian language teacher) and went on praising her school and the schoolchildren. This underlines her impulse for praising the group she belongs to, in this case her school, in front of another, the researcher who is an outsider. Overall, the source of the impulse for group showing off and the insider/outsider division may be similar to that underpinning the individual showing off.

The following vignette narrated by Mrs. Elton, the chief accountant of organization three, is illustrative of the insider/outsider divide in her organization and how the people in her kollektiv felt during the month long audit of the organization.

Vignette 12: ‘During the inspection – fully alert’

‘There is an unwritten rule not to let the chief down. Usually, at work, one runs errands and goes here and there... one is sick and the other did not come to work... but during the inspection, everybody... every single person was at their place... there was a total silence... all were ready... I think this is how it should be. Sometimes if we finished the work; we go home earlier... but during that time, no... Everybody sat in the office, even if there was nothing to do... what could be of assistance to the chief?’ (3-3-25, chief accountant)

This narrative illustrates several interrelated points. First, in the presence of outsiders, individuals feel uncomfortable. Second, they feel that the inspection is a threat because they are afraid of the auditors. Instead of treating this as an ordinary audit where inspectors come to see the current state of affairs, it is perceived as though the outsiders specifically intend to expose something negative. Third, the chief is assumed to be the responsible person in front of the auditors as Mrs. Elton does not feel a direct threat. In sum, there is a clear division between the kollektiv insiders and non-kollektiv outsiders and in the ways people behave towards these two sets of individuals. People tend to be suspicious of the people they do not know and therefore, initially, outsiders are invariably met with suspicion, whereas the members in the kollektiv tend to rely on each other. In this particular case, the chef is seen as an intermediary person acting as a link between insiders and outsiders.

4.6.2. How is this enacted and reinforced by organizational power relations?

The dynamics around the aspect of the social unconscious ‘creating a façade’ and the social and unconscious emotions felt towards the other, make people enact their instincts and normalize ‘creating a façade’ as part of the taken-for-granted organizational life. The ways in which individual and group-level showing off are enacted are illustrated in the above examples of Darya, Eleanor and Mrs. Elton. These three vignettes present evidence on how ‘creating a façade’ is enacted on three different levels. Darya’s situation informs us of the internally felt tensions, and the vignette with Eleanor is illustrative of how this is enacted in the relations with others within one kollektiv as well as relations with outsiders. Moreover, the vignette addressing Mrs. Elton moves further to show the kollektiv effort put into ‘creating a façade’ between the members themselves and the outsiders.

Firstly, Darya’s anxiety of being negatively judged if she misses a class is presented in vignette ten. From this, the drive to do her work whatever it may cost emerges and she relates this drive to her felt job responsibility and the danger of losing reputation in front of her kollektiv members. The compulsion to be present at work is motivated by her suspicion of other members’ opinions being negative. Also it appears that for her, it is more important to hold the class rather than to worry about the quality of the lesson she delivers. That is, she demonstrates a tendency to prefer quantity over quality and to hold the class just to show that it was done. In addition, she

rationalized her inability to miss a class by providing several reasons for why missing a class is a mistake or a wrongdoing: first, she is not allowed to lag behind in the schedule; second, if she misses a session, she needs to cover it by holding the class again outside the regular class hours; and third, there is a danger that the schoolchildren would misbehave and she will be held responsible for this. So she feels she must hold the class whatever it costs, and she feels she needs to behave as if everything is fine and keep up the façade that everything is fine.

Second, Eleanor's account (vignette 11) focuses on the contrasting views she holds regarding relations with her own colleague whom she knows well and any newcomers she does not know. As the chief accountant is a colleague she knows well, Eleanor chooses to interpret her scolding as helpful remarks and she quickly does what is asked. However, she would have behaved differently if this message was received from somebody unknown to her. In addition, it is worth noting that the way people correct each other in a kollektiv is by scolding. Since there is 'no room for mistakes' (see section 4.5), perhaps people react to mistakes angrily and therefore scold each other, albeit this seems a matter of fact way of doing things within the kollektiv. In sum, individuals in the kollektiv seem to differentiate between the kollektiv insiders and non-kollektiv outsiders and in the ways of interpreting messages from these two distinct sets of individuals differ considerably.

Third, in the narrative reported by Mrs. Elton (vignette 12), employees are compelled to act in front of the auditors differently to their usual everyday work dynamics, which perhaps implies their routine behaviour is not good enough. Mrs. Elton's story shows that the kollektiv members behave unnaturally or, at least, differently in front of outsiders during the audit. Therefore it may be that they are uncomfortable in front of these outsiders, are afraid of them or not very confident in themselves. It might be a combination of all these feelings. Moreover, there is the urge to act as they perceive is expected by outsiders and behaving differently to their everyday routine is judged by them to be better than simply going about their business. It comes across that they are attempting to please the inspectors. However, the staff described in the narrative seem perplexed in front of the auditors as they do not know what could be appropriate behaviour during the inspection; therefore they keep their heads down and 'hide'. It is of note that although it is the whole organization being inspected, in Mrs. Elton's opinion, it is the chief who is taken to be the

key responsible person accountable to those who are carrying out the inspection. In response, this audit is not seen as a direct personal threat to all members of staff, but rather as though it is directed towards the chief. However, all members of staff are there to support him, in case something goes wrong, as would be expected and they appear to take up a defensive position, almost ready and waiting for something bad to happen. In brief, in addition to an insider/outsider division, the way people in the kollektiv feel about themselves, which can be summed up as lacking confidence in their righteousness and feeling uncomfortable in front of unknown people or potentially fearing them, all encourage the kollektiv members to create a façade and push them to continue showing off to outsiders.

In general, regarding relations with strangers, the feeling of insecurity and suspicion of outsiders can turn into an unconscious defensive mechanism of showing off, and hiding or withholding information about difficulties and negative experiences. In the words of Frank, the managing director of organization three, ‘we are all together with one aim of producing the newspapers... and the output should be positive... and whatever happens inside (the kollektiv) we deal with it together without showing it to others’ (3-1-23). From the above we may assume that the main reason for people behaving in such a way, as commented in response to the photo-elicitation stimuli by the head of department, might be that ‘people feel not confident... have doubt in oneself...and that self-mistrust makes people afraid to communicate with each other’ (5-1-43, head of the Kazakh languages department, photo-elicitation). It appears that lack of self-confidence in combination with the high degree of suspicion regarding others are the main triggers for ‘creating a façade’; whether this occurs at the individual or group (kollektiv) level. One more observation illustrates the intimacy shared in the kollektiv. The supply chain manager in organization three argued this with respect to kollektiv parties, and reported that ‘there should be only the kollektiv members at the company parties, I think, if one brings along her husband, and others their wives, then people in the kollektiv will not be comfortable... it becomes so official to me, then I cannot say ‘hey, how is it going’ to my colleagues properly. We brought our wives once, the boss and the vice president invited their wives, then everybody was stiff and awkward, if those (wives) had not attended, we would have been much more conformable’ (3-13-35). Further, the entry in my diary discusses colleagues feeling awkward in front of non-kollektiv members: ‘I think people in Kazakhstan generally feel uncomfortable in front of people whom

they do not know, even if it is the family members of a colleague' (Diary #2, summary on organization five).

4.7. Complexity of organizational dynamics

In the first part of this chapter organizational processes in terms of the five aspects of the social unconscious were analysed by addressing each in turn. This latter part focuses on how several aspects of the social unconscious come into play in everyday work situations. Three additional vignettes are presented with the purpose of highlighting the complexity of organizational processes. The discussion following each vignette touches upon several emergent aspects of the social unconscious as well as the processes of learning and organizing pertaining to the context.

Vignette 13 illustrates Natalie's struggle when she was late for work and presents how she managed her lateness in terms of communication with her colleagues and the students. Her fear of the vice-principal seems to define her possible actions. In vignette 14, there is an account of James' attempts to check the reliability of fellow employees. He appears suspicious of others and forms a negative opinion about two colleagues who either arrived late or did not show up at the bowling party he initiated. In the last vignette, the narrative concerns the vice-principal of organization one recalling how the school staff prepared for a regional competition as a team effort. It highlights the group/ kollektiv self which is mobilised for impressing non-members.

4.7.1. Vignette 13 – 'Late to work'

This vignette illustrates how the teacher of physics behaved when she slept in and was late for her first morning lecture.

'I called the girls in the 11th class, it was their class... and asked them to sit quietly until I come... one should not let this be known... if known, the vice-principal would shout at me... the teachers from my own department cover my back... they are ours... own... they just let my students to their class... they help me... if the vice-principal sees this... she shouts at me...and ask why I was late... she says that I am always late... I needed to write an explanatory letter on why I was late... I wrote once... I wrote the truth, just said that I fell asleep' (Natalie, 1-3-3B)

This scenario illustrates several relational learning processes resulting from Natalie's fear of being late because of over sleeping. First, in the world of 'no room for mistakes' she wakes up to realize she is late. The embarrassment of acknowledging her mistake unrolls in her calling the students and asking them to wait for her arrival quietly. Thus, the late arrival to work is not narrated as something that distracts her direct work but rather as a battle of dealing with fear and embarrassment in front of the imagined other. There are two parties involved: Natalie and the internal representation of the vice principal. From previous experience, Natalie learned that the vice principal is an angry person who despises those who make mistakes. She is afraid of the internalized image of her boss and therefore acts in this the way. She assumes that the vice-principal cannot accept people being late and so instead of relying on her colleagues, she relies on her students and makes a phone call to one of them to ask them to wait quietly. Above, in section 4.4, the divide between the young and older teachers at this school was mentioned. Since the senior teachers do not include the young teachers in their circle, the young teachers spend most of their spare time associating with the final year students. Thus a plausible reason for why Natalie does not rely on her colleagues is the divide between staff which can be linked back to the elders projecting their anxiety of change to the young teachers. It is safe to say that the underlying factors of Natalie's behaviour concern the aspect of the social unconscious of 'no room for mistakes' as well as the aforementioned young versus elder divide. Consequently, when facing the difficult situation this young teacher relies on her personal connections with the students rather than call upon her colleagues. In addition, her reaction may relate to there being 'no border between work and private life' as Natalie does not differentiate between her professional work sphere and her personal relations. It seems that her private life is intertwined with her work responsibility. Hence she calls the students, her friends, to help out.

This turn of events brings into question how the vice-principal could feel about her member of staff not telling the truth and the reaction when this cover up is exposed, since Natalie seems to be afraid to communicate her late arrival. Most probably the vice principal could feel disappointed for being kept in the dark about the disruption of the class and deem Natalie's actions as unacceptable and react accordingly, i.e. by prescribing an administrative punishment. By doing this the vice-principal might reinforce Natalie's internal image of her superior as an angry intolerant person because the vice principal responds in the predicted manner and thus

deepens the young/old teachers divide. This, in turn, reinforces the vice-principal's image of the young teachers (as previously described in section 4.4) because this senior member of staff is one of those who blamed the youngsters for not completing their paperwork correctly and having a lot of mistakes in their records.

However, it should be noted that the internal picture Natalie has of the teachers from her own department is positive for she believes that they would cover her back. In Natalie's world there appears to be a clear division between 'her' people (teachers in her department) and the 'not her people', which might include enemies it is best to avoid such as the vice principal. She may also choose to believe in 'her' people and create a façade in front of the others. Such internalized images held regarding various colleagues make Natalie enact in the way she does, and consequently create dynamics between parties that reinforce the internal images. Drawing on previous experience of her encounters with the vice-principal, Natalie and the vice principal enact toward each other according to their internalized images of each other which could result in the vice principal shouting at Natalie and her continuing to arrive late. It appears that this situation grew into projective identification as what is initially projected from the elder teachers is accepted and enacted by the younger ones. The elder teachers project their anxiety of change and their anger surrounding this towards the young. Subsequently, the dynamics around this young/elder divide have evolved into deepening the initial divide as her fear of the vice-principal has prompted Natalie enact in keeping with this schism. Essentially, Natalie enacts as if she has no room for making mistakes, therefore when she errs, the first thing that comes to mind is the internalized hostile vice principal who will punish her and of whom she is afraid. Accordingly, she tries to cover up this error by calling her students.

Generally, the feeling of becoming the potential target of somebody's blame may create a defensive attitude to what others say and in long run, people may learn to protect themselves from such admonitions by lying, as Natalie did. This is reminiscent of the policing carried out by Mrs. Elton, the chief accountant from organization three, who introjected the 'no room for mistakes' dimension and punished the latecomers by herself. Alternatively, over time, people may gain in reputation or develop immunity. For instance, Konstantin, the supply manager of organization four (see above in section 4.3.2), helped out with others' jobs and gained a strong

favourable reputation so that some days, when he arrived late, nobody actually wished to complain about him.

4.7.2. Vignette 14 – ‘Checking the reliability of employees’

In the following vignettes James, the head of the English department, questions the reliability of two of his colleagues after they missed the game of bowling.

‘We announced that we are going to play bowling one week ahead through WhatsApp. The day the bowling was planned we didn't tell anything to anybody because it has been told a week ago. When we went there, one teacher was an hour late. The second teacher didn't come at all. What can we learn from that? We learn do people write down what has been said at the meetings? Do they remember? What is their view about the organization, their view of me as their boss? It was said once. They are not children, and we don't need to tell again and again. The ones who were late and absent... I already created a bit of a different view about them. I am not going to do anything against them, but I will note that. If there is a big project in the future, I will think twice before giving the responsibility to the person who was absent or late, for example’ (5-3-45).

The main point that emerges from this narrative is that for James, out of work relations could be used to set the tone for in work relations as it appears that James transferred his view of work related responsibilities across to this out of work collegiate activity. In addition, other interrelated themes concerning the workplace are highlighted by this example. First, it raises the question of James having suspicions regarding some others as being childish and not sufficiently responsible in their attitude. It might have been that he engineered the bowling game as a test of their calibre by purposely not reminding anyone about the invitation. He wanted to check out if they could remember his invitation.

Secondly, it could be the case that James is not confident in himself and doubts his own abilities, perhaps regarding his position as the head of the department. At least, it appears that he wanted to prove to himself that he is the boss. To him this meant that the other staff had to listen and do what he instructed without him repeating himself. There were sixteen teachers in his department and only one was late and one more did not show up, which means that fourteen of them were

present. But this was not enough, and it seems he expected 100% attendance, and was disappointed. He was so irritated with the two errant members of the party that this unpleasant experience informed his workplace relations as he stated that in future he would always think twice before relying on them. In other words, they failed him once, and more than likely, they would do it again, so he would think twice before assigning anything important to them at work.

The reaction may suggest that James feels that work related activities, including the party for bowling, are important events that no one ought to miss. Assuming there are close knit relations in most kollektivs, James most probably knows the reasons for people being either absent or late, but these do not satisfy him. He demonstrates that he is of the opinion that people have no wiggle room and must attend, regardless. Thus, out of work activities are not only places to relax and spend good times but also appear to be the place to display one's relative worth and expect that whatever is done during the activities is being judged by others.

4.7.3. Vignette 15 – ‘A regional competition – the kollektiv method’

The contents of this vignette were offered by the vice-principal of organization one. She describes the situation when one of her colleagues was to participate in their regional ‘best teacher’ competition.

So she was to participate in the competition... one needs a lot of things for that... she needed to fill up such a thick folder (showing how thick it was with her hands) as her homework to the competition, the folder itself consisted of a fifty-page compilation of documents... so we needed to fill all that up ... somebody brought a file, somebody else brought their good papers, one gave her ready documents with a good study plan and programmes, another teacher gave her the best open class programme she held, one bought her the necessary poster, one of the teachers wrote her introductory speech as a poem...one of the guys, for example... everybody helped as much as they could...’ (1-11-11A)

First, this account illustrates that the staff have the urge to show their best at the competition so they all gathered the best examples of every necessary contribution for completing the documents. On the one hand, from the perspective of the teachers, who apparently exercised the kollektiv ways of doing things, they do all that is required for this event. Since it is a competition

at the regional level, the key participant is thought to represent the whole kollektiv. The whole kollektiv feels responsible for success, because the insider/outsider division pressures them to show off their best efforts in front of others. In line with the social unconscious aspect of 'creating a façade', the kollektiv showed off its best as all the kollektiv members played their part in helping one particular teacher to do her homework well. The key participant did her part by taking the fifty-page documentation to the event and presenting it as required. One may assume that all the other competitors had completed their homework in a similar manner, so she would have been at a disadvantage if she had not worked in this way. On the other hand, from a rather individualist perspective, this story begs the question of what happened to the key participant's own work, and, her chance to present what she had achieved herself. Without her going through the necessary hurdles to prove to the region her own strengths, it raises a query regarding how she could gain from the experience, learn what was needed for the next time there was a competition, or for that matter, gain any input regarding improving her classroom practice. This account is silent about these matters but it is apparent that her fifty-page document needed to be exemplary to show off the best that the school had to offer. Instead of having a personal educational purpose for the one member of staff participating in the competition, it may be reasonable to suggest that this competition was simply an opportunity for the teachers to put the best face of the school on display to the important figures in the region.

Second, although it is only one teacher who is going to compete in the regional event, it appears that many of her colleagues sensed that they need to help and it felt legitimate for them to do so. The event was advertised as a competition for an individual to be voted 'best teacher' but these colleagues did not feel that it was only her job to do the preparation, and the strong sense of shared ownership emerged. So the gist of the matter is not the calibre of the individual who participates, but that of the kollektiv (see: 'searching for the kollektiv'). The nature of the settlement between the individual (in this instance the participant) and the group (all the colleagues who helped) suggests that this is an accepted systematic behaviour, and this approach is the right way of doing things. For all involved, there is no feeling of them cheating nor any egoistic sense of 'everybody is on their own', since the competitor presented the fifty-page documentation as if she had compiled it herself. Similarly, those who helped did not feel that they had mistreated her by stealing from her the possibility to demonstrate her own personal abilities.

Instead, it appears that this illustrates empathy of the kollektiv members towards the person who is participating as all of them feel for her and want to help her out. Perhaps of greatest significance is the fact that her colleagues felt believed that this was the only way to approach the occasion, which was neatly summed up by the vice-principal when she casually uttered ‘so we needed to fill up’ the fifty-page compilation.

Third, another reason to gather the best of what the school can offer may be the fear of mistakes. Since each of them, including the principal and the vice-principal, unconsciously behaves as if there is no room for mistakes, the staff unanimously gather the best examples for each of the portfolio documents. We may assume that every piece of work included in the compilation was carefully selected by all those who collaborated. The homework was completed in a manner that they considered nearest to the best way possible and this was beyond any doubt. From one perspective it could be argued that perhaps, the kollektiv members distrusted that the key participant could complete the homework successfully, and to pass the scrutiny of all members of the kollektiv, they needed to take everything into their own hands. Alternatively, it may suggested that the inherent fear of possible mistakes and their worry about her participation encouraged them to do everything on her behalf.

Lastly, taking into consideration kollektiv relations, the resistance to change associated with the new times and anxiety of change surrounding ‘the new is too individualistic’ comes as no surprise. Many people are used to close-knit kollektiv relations and these define their truth and reality. The evidence emerging from vignette 15 is silent regarding the personal gains for the participant, as it appears that the assumption is that she is presenting on behalf of the kollektiv. Further, in this scenario and individualistic demands relating to the market economy, where each strives for him or herself, remain as alien notions to the teachers whose joint efforts are described extensively in the context of the competition.

4.8 Chapter summary

This chapter set out to illustrate the ways things happen in the organizations under investigation. To this end, I have presented the findings in two interrelated ways. First, using the concept of the social unconscious I demonstrated five sets of social and unconscious emotions and the

organizational power relations identifying them. In the second part of the chapter, three vignettes were presented with the purpose of illustrating the dynamic processes happening in the focal organizations. Each of these vignettes helped me to untangle the complex set of relations and the processes of learning and organizing at the individual and group levels. In the following chapter these processes are further developed and the current research is discussed in light of existing scholarship regarding organizational learning.

5. Discussion

5.1. Introduction

In this chapter the discussion focuses on emotions and power relations impacting upon individual and organizational learning. Regarding this, initially, four sets of emotions have been identified and discussed in relation to the social unconscious. Then identification has been addressed as the connecting link between individuals and organizational learning and this is followed by consideration of the aspects of the social unconscious in relation to the Soviet literature.

5.2. Four sets of emotions

The existing literature on emotions in organizational learning seeks to address the ways emotions are interwoven with power relations in terms of them being ‘individually felt and collectively produced and performed’ (Vince and Gabriel, 2011: 338). Emotions such as envy, mistrust and personal dislike are not to be ignored but rather taken as important indicators of organizational dynamics (Vince, 2001). Studying emotions that emerge in the processes of interactions among employees helps researchers to discern the complexity of dynamics (Vince & Gabriel, 2011; Vince, 2002b), and to grasp the fluid nature of emotions that stimulates further actions (Waldron, 2000). With regards to this, in one study researchers discovered how managers rationalized unpleasant emotions related to difficulties and anxiety during a company takeover by detaching themselves from organizational commitments and solely concentrating on their own interests (Vince, 2006). Closer examination revealed that managers’ unease around their company being taken over was due to the pain and anger they felt because of it, shame associated with it and their sense of powerlessness as they felt that they had not achieved organizational and individual expectations (ibid). Moreover, the tension between unpleasant emotions and their rationalization created additional emotional responses and actions for, although managers recognized the uneasiness of the situation, they unconsciously projected their unbearable feeling of shame onto the other employees. They assumed that it was employees who were distressed by the sense of shame and not themselves (ibid). Another study traced the two emotions of caution and blame experienced by managers of a large organization (Vince & Saleem, 2004). These scholars reported that caution and blame are not only interconnected in organizational processes but also prompt further emotions and actions. It was elicited that these managers were generally afraid of

making mistakes and acted with caution, but when things went wrong they looked for other people and reasons to blame, which, in turn, limited their capacity to reflect and move on.

In this study, I have built on the literature pertaining to emotions, such as that discussed above and probed how individual and collective emotional dynamics in organizations in Kazakhstan impact upon individual and organizational learning. Five aspects of the social unconscious were employed to identify the emotional dynamics around organizational attempts to learn. By using the social unconscious, the role of the context as well as social and ideological rules in shaping organizational learning could be investigated. The emotions expressed around these aspects of the social unconscious were captured, and grouped under four themes that appeared particularly pronounced across the whole sample, and therefore deemed appropriate for reflecting organizational level experience. The following four sets of social and unconscious emotions are identified in the current empirical study as being involved in the process of organizational learning:

1. Kollektiv relations – empathy, affinity, attachment, care of the other, liking, reliance on the other, family-like feelings, proud for other’s achievements
2. ‘No room for mistakes’ – embarrassment, fear, shame, distrust, anxiety of failure, guilt
3. ‘Creating a façade’ - insider/outsider divide – individual vs. kollektiv and the kollektiv versus non-kollektiv members – suspicion, fear of the other, lack of self-confidence, mistrust
4. ‘The new is too individualistic’ - resistance to change – anxiety of change, anger

These social and unconscious emotions relating to each of the themes are discussed individually in the following sections. The themes correspond to the aspects of social unconscious presented in the findings in chapter 4 and draw on the earlier vignettes. First the individual emotions around each theme are revealed, and then the ways these individual emotions are enacted in groups is discussed. Each section concludes with coverage of the implications of group emotional dynamics on the possibilities for organizational learning.

5.2.1 Kollektiv relations

‘No border between private life and work’ and ‘searching for the kollektiv’ seem to be deeply rooted aspects of the social unconscious that are manifested in various social emotions. These are both reinforced by individual emotions and subjectification as well as certain social and unconscious actions normalizing them (Creed et al., 2014). It is reasonable to say that at individual and organizational levels it is important to consider collective efforts and keep in mind that people tend to look for warm and close-knit relations to get things done. There are four interrelated points regarding the processes of organising around these emotions as discussed below.

Belong together

First, the workplace in general and the notion of the kollektiv in particular seem to be important for individuals and collective efforts are preferred to individual ones. The sense of belongingness shared by the members of a kollektiv often grows into close-knit and reliable organizational relations. On the organizational level, in some instances, such relations are quite advantageous since people feel united and compassionate emotions, and admiration and care of the other can positively influence satisfaction and teamwork (Barsade & O’Neill, 2014). The outcomes of my study illustrate that shared empathy and care about the other may keep people sticking to one workplace for a long time. One head of the department explained that he is hesitant to move because he feels comfortable in his current work and his strong sense of belonging to the kollektiv could be the reason for him to remain (5-6-48, head of department).

The warm relations experienced at work tend to prevent employee withdrawal and reduce emotional exhaustion (Barsade & O’Neill, 2014). Such emotions shared at work may have a positive connotation: new things, once accepted by a few may be disseminated easily, because if one accepts the idea, staff members tend to listen to and rely on each other. The same might have the reverse effect, and if one key person does not like or accept new things, all could tend to ignore them. This is because people tend to seek to agree with each other and might unite against adopting the new idea. In addition, family-like feelings shared among kollektiv members erase the difference between work and home, making people feel as comfortable at work as at home,

and this is described as ‘rabotat’ po chelovecheski’ (to work in a humane manner) (Muratbekova-Touron, 2002:227).

Kollektiv-centeredness

An intense sense of belongingness, admiration and reliance on others could work in a contradictory manner. One needs to behave in agreement with the kollektiv, whilst at the same time, this may lead to lack of self confidence regarding making decisions personally, unless backed by others. On the one hand, people may require kollektiv level acceptance or a nudge from the kollektiv along with solidarity to be able to act. Where the feeling of mutual agreement is absent, the individual might not feel confident in what they are about to do. As one teacher puts it, ‘since there is no solidarity among people, you cannot do anything... it does not matter how good the facilities are if there is no solidarity among people’ (5-2-44, Kazakh language teacher). For this particular respondent, this situation related to the university where he studied and not to the one where he works. At the former, he reported that he does not sense the kollektiv feeling that he has at work and goes on to justify his own inaction by saying that the people there are not being agreeable, i.e. there is no solidarity. By contrast, in his workplace, people appear to be more feeling towards each other. It appears that he unconsciously needs others’ agreement to do something, and since this did not happen, his plans ended in ‘learning inaction’ (Vince & Gabriel, 2011). It would appear that the safe way to have things done is through or with the kollektiv.

On the other hand, it is reasonable to say that heavy reliance on others may lead to inertness and people becoming reliant on others for starting up things. A study by Muratbekova-Touron (2002) noted that this passivity and absence of initiative has created serious issues for some Kazakhstani organizations. In my findings, the words of the chief account of organization three encapsulate this as she described her reaction to the changes after the collapse of the Soviet Union in the following way: ‘we were not taught to interact in the new ways in the new times’ (3-3-25). Her words imply that there should have been somebody who taught the kollektiv how to work effectively in the new times. Regarding the individual level, there exists the so called kollektiv-self, which is a kollektiv-centred understanding of the self. Since only collective efforts are appreciated, individual progress may not be supported. In such cases the ‘notion of the personal responsibility transforms to the notion of the collective responsibility’ (Muratbekova-Touron, 2002:222).

Empathy and family-like relations highlight the kollektiv sense and shape people's sense of privacy. Previous research in post-Soviet markets has identified the impact of the Soviet legacy on the Soviet character *mir* (literally meaning 'peace' or 'world' in Russian), particularly in the context of agricultural village communes and communal farms in rural areas (Kets de Vries, 2001). The life style in communal farms and the collectivist orientation was attributed with affecting the idea of personal space, and, such behaviour seems to be perceived negatively by Westerners, as Kets de Vries (2001) reported 'Russians tend to be rather intrusive; they do not respect other people's private space as much as do people in other cultures' (p.599).

Helping each other out at work

At work, empathy and identification among kollektiv members is shown in the ways they help each other out with urgent projects and tight deadlines. The kollektiv members support and stand up for each other in difficult situations. Hence some are eager to do tasks not officially assigned to them, which underlines the rather collective nature of their intentions in place of individualistic motivations, i.e. 'everything is common' (2-8-19, accountant). Konstantin's story about him helping the guys in the workshop and the driver when he is double booked (see section 4.3.2.), sheds light on how this may have the long term consequence of gradually turning work arrangements into a network of personal favours. Instead of realizing and addressing the fact that there were insufficient staff to carry the boxes and too much travel was assigned to a single driver or perhaps endeavouring to improve poor scheduling, individuals took the initiative and acted in the ways they usually adopted. This case illustrated how the organizing takes place and possibly the family-like feelings and attachment overrode the potential serious organizational issues as they shared the responsibility and helped each other out instead of creating serious problems out of day to day difficulties. This indicates some employees relate to their job responsibilities as personal duties. This in combination with identification with others at work makes it difficult to differentiate between what is one person's job and what is another's, as well as what is undertaken for personal ends and what is executed for work purposes. All in all, identification with others at work serves to blur private and work life. As Mrs. Elton put it, 'sometimes I am at home on Saturdays and Sunday, yes... but if there is too much work, I come to work on Saturday and work a little bit more, so on Monday it will feel easier, so I can amuse and distract myself and socialize with others' (3-3-25).

Out of work relations used to define work relations

Warm and tight-knit relations at work may blur work and private relations. For instance, the proof reader in organization three gave the example of such a case, when she uncovered much more about one colleague and began respecting him because of her newly gained insights. She discussed how her colleague who usually sat quiet as a mouse at work turned out to be far more social at the corporate party. She assumes a friendly kollektiv spirit at work and thinks that all workers should chit-chat with each other, and in her opinion, this colleague from the IT section was not returning the necessary level of affinity. However, after this informal encounter with this colleague, she changed her initial negative opinion about him. From the above we might assume that she changes her attitude toward him in work contexts as well. Kets de Vries (2001) highlighted the importance of close friendships among colleagues in organizations in Russia. He provided the story of a Swedish executive who in vain attempted various strategies of organizing teams to collaborate on a project. After some informal time spent together and learning about each other, the Swedish executive discovered that his Russian counterparts became much more supportive of the projects and they managed to create the desired level of communication and trust. Another study regarding French managers' perception of their Russian and Kazakhstani counterparts confirmed this characteristic. French managers working in these countries highlighted the importance of creating friendly and warm relations by eating and drinking with these colleagues and spending time visiting summer houses (Muratbekova-Touron, 2002).

5.2.2. Fear of mistakes

Fear of mistakes is a common emotion shared in organizations. Such fear can make people act with caution, limit what they aim to do, and if things go wrong they may seek to blame the other party and try to rid themselves of such uncomfortable emotions (Vince and Saleem, 2004). The findings from this current investigation unearthed shame, fear, and anger as the initial reactions involved around mistakes. The two vignettes 8 and 9 pertaining to there being 'no room for mistakes' (in section 4.5.1.) exhibit how Frank and Emma felt about the mistakes they encountered. Frank, the managing director, felt ashamed and embarrassed in front of the higher authorities for the mistake. He received an accusatory telephone call from the ministry pointing out the mistake in his newspaper, at which he felt ashamed because he 'failed to live up to standards of worth in the eyes of others' (Mascolo & Fischer, 1996:68). Ultimately he ended up

admitted to hospital with high blood pressure, which suggests that he was angry, because the physiological reaction of shame often includes 'blushing and low heart rate' (ibid:68) and not high blood pressure. First, he may be angry for the mistake being made, as the unconscious aspect of 'no room from mistakes' implies he reacts as if there can never be any errors. Second, he could be angry at those who actually erred and put him in this position because he feels that he is the victim or middle man in between the two sides, on the one, the ministry blaming him and on the other, those who made the error (Creed et al., 2014). He may have projected his shame to the employees and thus is angry at them. He resolved to hold a meeting with the aim of finding the wrongdoer and punishing him or her.

Another example is Emma, an office manager, who confused the dimensions of an order for windows. When she checked the purchase orders and discovered that it was indeed she who had sent the wrong window dimensions she felt guilty. Then she was 'shocked' to realize that she needed to pay for the rejected windows from her own salary and 'cried bitterly at work' (Diary #3, page 12). She apparently wept because she became afraid of the potential financial punishment as she thought she should pay for the 'wrong' windows herself. In the end though, her colleagues helped her out and the firm sold on the rejected windows to another buyer.

Individuals are blamed for mistakes

It emerges that instead of extracting organizational level benefits of learning from mistakes, these errors tend to be conceptualised as the shortcoming of an individual (Clarke, 2007; Vince & Saleem, 2004). In organization three, Frank was personally blamed for the mistake by the ministry. Consequently, he vowed to track down the individual who selected the wrong photo for the newspaper and punish that person by admonishing him/her in front of their other colleagues. Emma, in turn, felt her mistake and personalised it as her own 'screw up' and felt anxious until they sold on the junk windows. Such instances make individuals in organizations anxious of any possible mistakes, and as the proof reader in organization three commented: 'I feel the responsibility... if I feel that I did not read the parts of the article, I go through them again... it is important to feel that there will be no scolding and I will not hear unnecessarily from others and nobody will point at me with their finger' (3-8-30). So she does 'all her (my) best' not to make any mistake since it comes back and haunts her personally... God forbid!' (ibid)

Mutual surveillance

The combination of ‘no room for mistakes’ and the constant fear of possible mistakes ended up in colleagues policing each other which evolved in the following way. For example, the behaviour of Mrs. Elton who, as a result of her defensive reaction, introjected the ‘no room for mistakes’ and began checking for herself whether or not the staff arrived late. This can create situations where colleagues feel accountable in front of their other colleagues and this can apply to any other type of mistake committed at work. Mrs. Elton’s behaviour is that of the shamer who is policing ‘the boundaries of acceptable behaviour using episodic shaming to alert transgressors’ (Creed et al., 2014:280). She was not only checking up on who was on time and who was late, but was also policing the latecomers’ mistakes and thus making them feel guilty. In other words, she was actively reinforcing organizationally accepted power relations (ibid). In the previously mentioned study involving French managers from international corporations, some interviewees concurred that ‘in Kazakhstan, you are guilty a priori’ (Muratbekova-Touron, 2002:223), referring to the ideology of overall suspicion and control established in organizations.

Since guilt is an embarrassing and uneasy feeling, to avoid the pain of this, colleagues may have been prompted to create lies to cover their backs. Indeed, a journalist from the same organization acknowledged that she felt afraid and uncomfortable for being late on her second day after she arrived back from parental leave. ‘No room for mistakes’ introjected and exercised by colleagues created organizational dynamics in which this journalist felt afraid and ashamed for being late. The feeling of shame following making a mistake shows us her compliance with the norms and her own acceptance of her having broken the norms (Creed et al., 2014) might be her means of seeking appeasement in front of those who observed her wrongdoing (Martens, Tracy, & Shariff, 2012). Further, because of these feelings, she was felt embarrassed and lied as an excuse in front of her policing colleagues and/or boss who caught her out as she arrived. Here the ‘shaming attempts’ are enacted at the office door (Creed et al., 2014).

Some of the above examples demonstrate that there is usually somebody who stands, ready to punish, whether it is members of management or peers. Respondents who offered their stories were anxious about, in some cases, potential wrongdoings as well as actual transgressions. These examples illustrate dynamics discouraging organizational learning. As such, the instances when individuals felt ashamed and embarrassed for their mistakes and when such mistakes are

discussed at meetings with the purpose of blaming person who is deemed to be guilty or when people are privately shamed, support the dimension that there is 'no room for mistakes'. This is a construct that limits the potential for learning and the possibility for change, and in particular, behaviours enacted by kollektiv members such as Frank and Mrs. Elton perpetuate this situation.

Becoming protective

In addition, fear of mistakes in combination with identification may result in people engaging in protective behaviour. For instance, the behaviour of the deputy of the editor-in-chief who projected the fear of mistakes to young journalists and wrote urgent articles himself alludes to the sense of care. This could, however, be interpreted as one more way of avoiding mistakes. He did not only project that the young journalists felt afraid of writing such an assignment when given short notice, but claimed he would write the articles himself. Reflecting on this, such behaviour may inform us about protective and caring kollektiv problem solving that occurs in some situations. However, since the deputy editor-in-chief jumped at the possibility of writing the article, the young people in his office could have lost their chance to write something under pressure, which could have been an opportunity for beneficial training. It follows that the projection that resulted in him ending up writing urgent articles could evolve into projective identification where the young journalists who experience this enact the fear of writing something urgently and really feel that they are not good enough for the job. As reported by a nervous young journalist, 'sometimes I do not like what I write, sometimes I cannot cover the topic properly, then I just say that that is my best and that I cannot cover it better' (3-7-29).

Personal fear of mistakes may enact while working in a team, as happened with the elementary school teacher who participated in the dance competition. She suffered intense anxiety of failure and a quarrel developed as a result of her mistrust in the other person. The elementary school teacher was anxious about her partner's success, which may have potentially adversely limited her partner's dancing abilities. That is, because she was anxious, this may have made the partner anxious as well and therefore perhaps he could not in her eyes dance properly. Alternatively, this could be read as an instance of the projection of her own fear towards her partner with her thinking that it was the partner who was the problem, rather than acknowledging herself as the one who was the poor dancer. Under yet another lens, this could equally be the kollektiv feeling

for the other making her anxious for him because she feels for him and is afraid that together they will not succeed.

At least two possible interrelated implications of this behaviour can be detected. First, when this presents the dynamics of not trusting each other because of the fear of making mistakes, relationships among work partners can be weakened by making them feel not good enough. This was summed up by one respondent in the following statement: ‘when we participate in something social the first thing that comes to mind is, what if I don’t know something... this feels insecure’ (1-11-11A, vice-principal). Second, this may be the result of identification with colleagues, particularly when people relate to what others do as if these are their own actions. Then the previous example of personally felt ‘what if I don’t know something... this feels insecure’ (1-11-11A) might turn into ‘what if he does not know something... and that feels insecure’, and people enact according to this instinct and try to protect the other.

Closer to the kollektiv

In the case of Emma, she discovered her mistake and since the usual organizational dynamics around mistake-making is finding and punishing the one who did wrong, she immediately assumed that she would need to pay for the windows. However, things turned out to be much better than she imagined because her whole kollektiv was involved in solving the problem. She felt herself guilty for making the mistake and colleagues confirmed this by wanting to help out and showing their concern. Her direct boss and her colleagues sharing her office calmed her and advised her what to do and the managing director helpfully simply wrote off the rejected windows. They solved the problem collectively, and she learned that her colleagues would help out if she was in trouble. She came to realise that ‘nobody will leave you in the minute of trouble; everybody will support and help out’ (2-11-22). Even though Emma personally felt that the mistake was hers, the care shown by colleagues and her reliance on them made her feel better about her workplace. As an outcome, Emma will most probably stick to her colleagues even more than before and become better friends. This situation proved to her that colleagues can help her out and solve her problems. That is why she feels grateful and tries to pay back the same way by helping them when necessary, which contributes to a friendly environment with people caring about each other.

Frank and Emma's examples show somewhat contradicting evidence as the kollektiv relations impacted on the way things evolved for them. The existing literature on the post-Soviet context similarly illustrates the contrary nature of group relations: 'I adore Russia, I like everything there. There is only one thing that I hate: it is violence toward a group. It is like a sheep dog and sheep. A sheep dog treats sheep with contempt, without any respect. But as soon as there is one sheep which needs help; a sheep-dog is very careful and tender' (Muratbekova-Touron, 2002:226).

In the example of Emma, following 'no room for mistakes' the initial reaction of Emma was embarrassment and the feeling of guilt for her error, however the organizational power relations rolled out slightly differently than those with Frank. Her colleagues helped her out with advice and at the daily meeting, the managing director decided to write the wrong sized windows off. Although the conceptualization of the mistake was considered as a problem for the individual, the dynamics around her mistake evolved in a way that encourages organizational learning. The managing director and the chief accountant did all they could to escape the dimension of 'no room for mistakes'. This is not, however, a clear cut example of organizational learning, and this situation is far from a scenario wherein mistakes can be considered as an opportunity for learning and large scale change. All the same, the ways in which the managers and her colleagues enacted around Emma's mistake give some indication that one does not always need to act as if there is no room for mistakes and be defensive around errors. More importantly, this situation does show that a mistake does not have to be a dreadful happening. In fact, she could potentially break free of living with the 'no room for mistakes' façade, and leave behind her the sense of always having to get it right and behaving in a timid, anxious manner.

5.2.3. 'Creating a façade' – emotions around the insider/outsider divide

The habit of 'creating a façade' can be related to the Soviet legacy. Some studies report that the collectivization and enforced compliance during the early Soviet times, which was initially met with resistance, gradually diminished the importance of the individual self and created a division between the communist self and the individual self (Kets de Vries, 2001). The findings pertaining to 'creating a façade' illustrate how post-Soviet individuals appear to have inherited a double layer comprising the communist conformist self and the real self. The inherited internal conflict of splitting between these selves is suggested as the main trigger for 'creating a façade', whether it is between the self and the kollektiv or between the kollektiv and the non-kollektiv.

First, the importance of the kollektiv in the life of an individual has been discussed as a space integrating two contradicting worlds: one of care for one another and admiration, and the other of self-surveillance and discipline. For example, on the one hand, the narratives in this study show close-knit relations among colleagues extending to time outside work. There were occasions when colleagues missed each other when they were away from work and examples of them inviting each other home for dinner parties. It might seem that some people in Kazakhstan relate to the kollektiv as the place for the ‘true self’ (Winnicott, 1965). On the other hand, the accounts also illustrate times when the same colleagues cannot be trusted and individuals display the urge to show off in front of them. The dynamics created as a result of mistrust among people at work and lack of self-confidence may create the environment of withholding information from each other and creating compartmentalization of information (Muratbekova-Touron, 2002). For example, one teacher was afraid to miss a class when she was sick (section 4.5.1); another was ready to tell lies when she was late because she was afraid of her policing colleagues who would meet her at the office entrance (section 5.2.2.). Inside-kollektiv inquisitions might be partially explained through the introjections of those authority figures and rules emerging as defensive reaction. This is informed by their inherited fear of authority and rules since Soviet people were commonly powerless in front of authority figures (ibid).

More specifically, reflecting on the vignette with Darya, who was afraid to miss a class, her desire to show off indeed moves everything else to the background, since anxiety around ‘creating a façade’ and her anticipation of negative outcomes makes her hold her classes whatever it cost her. Concerning individual learning, first, the urge to show oneself in a positive light may override possibilities for individual learning. Darya’s feelings of fear, anxiety and threat are consistent with the findings shown in the extant scholarship concerning façades of conformity and self-discrepancy, since there is a discrepancy in who she is and who she perceives she ought to be (Abrahamson & Baumard, 2008; Higgins, 1989). Alternatively, perhaps Darya’s feelings respond to the following question posed by Hewlin (2003) regarding the sustainability of individual façades: ‘Will organizational members begin to internalize the values they are pretending to embrace over time?’ (p.639) In this current study, it is suggested that the ‘creating a façade’ is reminiscent of the Soviet legacy. It could be that for some post-Soviet people the creation of a façade, which perhaps once began as conscious pretention to achieve the

requirements of the communist regime, has over time been internalised and become the taken-for-granted.

Drawing on the example of Eleanor who favourably reacted to the remarks of her chief accountant but claimed she would be suspicious of those made by anybody whom she does not know well, we assume that members of a kollektiv may be favourably biased towards each other (Hewstone, Rubin, & Willis, 2002), and by being so, deepen the existing insider/outsider division. In all, there might be a tendency to listen to well-known colleagues and take their words as good advice, worthy of respect. As one teacher mentioned, at work ‘when people (referring to her colleagues) say ‘do like this... and do like that’... I accepted all that as the brotherly words... accepted it as a piece of wisdom...’ (5-2-44). On the other hand, Eleanor’s example indicates that she would not feel comfortable listening to the comments of those who she does not feel are insiders. Regardless of any potentially useful content, members could be defensive regarding comments from outsiders and the default or general first impression about people from outside the kollektiv is that ‘you never know what is inside them’ (2-9-20).

Second, the fieldwork unveiled ‘creating a façade’ as a kollektiv, in front of non-members, especially in front of authorities (Kets de Vries, 2001). As illustrated in chapter 4, the behaviour of the kollektiv (in organization three) during the audit supports this claim. To sum up, during the auditing by the inspectors coming from outside, individuals were uncomfortable; they were afraid, suspicious, and distrusted people whom they did not work with. The collective fear regarding the auditors and members wanting to please the auditors, but not knowing how, explains the great deal of effort spent on managing their ‘false self’ (Winnicott, 1965). In the same vein, an earlier study has reported on the experience of one Western executive in Russia (Kets de Vries, 2001). In the beginning he was given a separate office and was isolated from day-to-day activities. Later he discovered the reason for his treatment; the Russian colleagues regarded him ‘as a spy from the head office – a troublemaker – who would not understand why certain things were done in rather peculiar ways. Some (Russian) senior executives were afraid that he would take exception to the many ‘special arrangements’ that existed in the company’ (Kets de Vries, 2001:615). This shed lights on the fear sensed regarding the non-member by post-Soviet workers and their deep rooted suspicions. Moreover, Kets de Vries (2001) disclosed that in some of the Russian organizations he studied, they kept several sets of accounting books to

show to different audiences. They had various other tricks that they used to keep up with the requirements of the system, which further confirms the underpinning reasons for ‘creating a façade’ in front of outsiders.

In sum, concerning the impact of such dynamics on organizational learning, the findings illustrate that the emotions and organizational power relations surrounding this aspect of the social unconscious tend to facilitate individuals’ behaviour towards systematically ‘creating a façade’ (Creed et al., 2014). Generally, in Kazakhstani organizations, such behaviour of unconsciously (and unintentionally) creating a façade is met with contradicting feelings. As one study of foreign managers in the country has revealed, ‘people have ‘a certain cold ‘façade’, but they warm out fast. I communicate with people much better here than in France’ (Muratbekova-Touron, 2002: 223).

Façades and their creation generally are reactions to one not living up to expectations, and in order to show otherwise, people in organizations consciously engage in creating façades. In organizational façades terms, they play the role of a fence between two parties as well as projecting the desired image that people want to offer up. Abrahamson and Baumard (2008) opined that the façade was created to hide messiness and show the neat and tidy desired image of the organization to headquarters. People were afraid to show the reality and hid their guilt behind the façade while engaging with messy preparations, struggling with tight deadlines. They further argued that temporary façades can actually provide a necessary breath of air when facing deadlines and help to create a relaxing and calm atmosphere to kick start innovative processes (ibid). Alternatively, organizational façades may project the ideal and a confident image of what people in organizations want to be. Conceptualised as this, façades may offer a shared dream to which members of an organization might aspire (ibid). These scholars’ study demonstrated how the façade that was observed by others inspired members to change their organizations for the better (ibid).

Abrahamson and Baumard (2008) found that not only the façade works at the organizational, group level but also at the individual level. Concerning the individual level, one study probed how people created a façade with the purpose of hiding their real identity (Creed et al., 2010). The main trigger for this was that individuals felt ashamed of their real identity and were afraid to lose their colleagues’ respect if made known. In these researchers’ work it was discovered that

over time internal unease resulting from contradictions between the real selves and the displayed selves made the individuals decide to ‘come out’ and destroy the façade that they had been living with previously. In this instance, the individuals as well as their colleagues had been colluding with maintaining the façade. However, this reached a breaking point for the individuals concerned and they decided to come out and face the consequences of their decision to remove the façade. To conclude, Abrahamson and Baumard (2008) discussed some strategic implications of the façade, whereas Creed et al. (2010) revealed internal feelings relating to following and attempts to fulfil unrealistic expectations. Creed and his colleagues (2010) stressed the importance of self desire regarding overthrowing the façade by individuals proving to themselves that the façade is not necessary. Emotions and individual intentions and desires are proved to be important in such endeavours.

5.2.5. ‘New is too individualistic’

The last group of emotions, namely combination of anger, fear and anxiety of change, are associated with the aspect of social unconscious; the ‘new is too individualistic’. Concerning this, in organization one, despite a strong motivation to engage with learning as the research participants mentioned their efforts to embrace the new education system that had been recently implemented by attending various seminars and workshops to improve their teaching qualifications, the aspect of the social unconscious that decrees that ‘the new is too individualistic and everybody is on their own’ may have adversely affected their efforts for organizing and learning. Vignette six, ‘the oppressed young’(section 4.4.2), illustrated how the dynamics around this aspect of the social unconscious in combination with anxiety regarding change separated the young teachers from the older ones as each group felt strong unpleasant emotions toward each other. On the one hand, the shared feelings among the older teachers appeared to be that the young did not do the job properly. In effect it may be that the anxiety of change with which the older staff members were struggling with was projected to the young. Such unpleasant emotions, developed as a result of projection, created a division between young and elder teachers, where the elder teachers held a strong negative opinion about the young, exercised indirect aggression (Kent et al., 2014) and further excluded the latter from social gatherings. The existing literature on indirect workplace aggression has reported ridicule directed at the target as an expression of hostility (Neuman & Baron, 1998). The aggression exercised by the elder teachers towards the

young targets is the result of the latter not following the normative behaviour as the young teachers fail to keep to the 'usual' and normalized work behaviour at school. Indirect aggression was detected as early as in Hawthorne Studies held in 1920s when those workers who worked too fast and deviated from the established work rate intensity were disciplined by others (Björkqvist, 1994). The existing research illustrates conscious and socially initiated acts of aggression (Björkqvist, 1994; Neuman & Baron, 1998), but the motif of indirect aggression in the current study is unconscious, because generally, the respondents from this organization claimed to have a very friendly atmosphere at work. On the other hand, the targeted young teachers, stressed and anxious about change and the upcoming check-ups, worked hard to fulfil all the requirements. Regardless of their efforts they remained lonely and felt abandoned because of the way the older teachers related to them (Kaukiainen et al., 2001). Some young teachers even felt weary of the workload and regretted in their choice of job.

Such negative social and unconscious emotions around 'legitimized' division between the young and older teachers resulting from anxiety of change serves to reinforce the established ways of doing things and limit the possibilities for organizational learning (Contu & Willmott, 2003). The possibility of transforming established constructs is fiercely challenged by older teachers who do not seem ready to let go of the old times. The young teachers found themselves staying on the periphery until they are deemed to have learned the ropes. For example, Kitty mentioned (vignette six) that she does not dare to say anything except 'yes' to what older teachers tell her. She therefore simply keeps her head down and absorbs whatever they say. It seems it is only the experienced and knowledgeable teachers who can help the inexperienced young ones. This appears to show that she does not feel herself as yet a legitimate member of the kollektiv and because of the segregation between the older and young teachers there are two options open to her; strictly following what the older teacher say and learn the ropes, or be left alone to struggle with her fear of the check-ups. Relating to the kollektiv based spirit, where everything, including the politics of learning revolves around the kollektiv, the only viable option seems to be to follow the advice of the older teachers (Lave & Wenger, 1991). This satisfies both the kollektiv-natured ways of doing things and enables someone like Kitty to become a legitimate member of the kollektiv.

Surprisingly, the young teachers are valued for their technical ability to document everything in electronic form, which is a requirement of the newly introduced teaching programme regulations. For example the experience of Anna, an elderly teacher, is similar to accounts of rural doctors who enjoyed for a long time ‘being their own bosses and doing what they think is right for the patients’ but were afraid to lose their licence and thus joined large medical practices (Pratt & Doucet, 2000:207). These researchers studied rural doctors who followed the demands of the market and as a result, lost their former freedoms but were financially compensated instead. These practitioners experienced ambivalent emotions around their growing levels of accountability to the medical organizations balanced with the newly offered benefits. Similarly, the elder teachers in the school struggled with the new requirements and developed a love/hate relationship with the changing organizational requirements. On the one hand they were required to teach differently, and these changes are complicated by not being able to follow the technological requirements and dependency on the young ones to fulfil them. On the other hand, considering the existing dynamics between the elder and the younger teachers, it is safe to assume certain contradicting emotional dynamics in the workplace (ibid). The resistance and anxiety of the elder generation to the challenges of the new era and ability of the younger generation to deal with them has been reported elsewhere. For instance, a study of Kazakhstani work culture illustrated fear of making decisions and a reluctance of the older generations to deal with the challenges of the new era. At the same time, this earlier study highlighted the significant role played by young people in shifting to new styles of management (Muratbekova-Touron, 2002).

5.3. Connecting an individual to the organizational: identification

As discussed in chapter two, the relationship between the individual and organisational learning has been studied in various ways, and is deemed ‘more complex than we currently assume it is’ (Antonacopoulou, 2006:470). The main debate pertains to the role of the cognitive abilities of an individual contributing to organizational level learning. The existing literature in this area mainly relies on the cognitive abilities of an individual and learning happens through the mental models that change as individuals learn. First, system structural theories connected individuals to organizations as providers of information (Daft & Huber, 1986; Hedberg, 1979). That is, individuals learn new things and distribute them to others within an organization. Second,

individuals have been connected to organizational learning through being the interpreters of meaning (Daft & Weick, 1984) in which case, individuals' strategic thinking abilities are highly regarded as a useful contribution to organizational learning (Casey & Goldman, 2010).

Alternatively, the scholars approaching organizational learning as a process set out to study other social processes and explore the possibilities to learn during social processes. They contend that individuals connect to organizational learning through the dynamic processes happening in organizations (Brandi & Elkjaer, 2011). This requires scholars and practitioners to rethink the ways in which individuals and organizational learning are interrelated so as to understand the role of individuals and explore the ways individuals are subjects to their organization.

Studying organizational power relations and individual as subjects to them is not a new concept and has been pursued in other areas of organization studies. Although there are scholars such as Marx and Braverman whose views on power have stimulated debates on subjectivity, studying subjectivity through Foucauldian theories has become more popular in recent decades (Knights & Willmott, 1989). Foucault's analysis of modern power illustrates how social regimes dominate individuals' minds and bodies through their own conscience, and by so doing, analysis provides an avenue to study individual subjectivity. Subjectivity is an important part of participating in organizational processes, and it 'occurs through the subject locating him/herself within the field of commonly accepted moral conduct, as a subject of that moral conduct' (Skinner, 2015:916). It has been recognised that the process of subject formation is not entirely a social process as subjects' self-reflection is involved in this formation (Skinner, 2012; Stavrakakis, 2008). Thus subject formation is a social as well as a private affair as an individual is 'tied to his own identity by a conscience or self-knowledge' (Foucault, 1982:781). Further, this current study contends that individuals' subjection to organizations have unconscious elements that should be taken into consideration as well. The earlier findings demonstrate that group emotions in organizations may be shared by (unconscious) identification as well as by interaction (Menges and Kilduff, 2015). That is, the kollektiv members share and feel the same emotions not as a result of interaction, but as a result of identification with each other.

In this research endeavour I investigated individuals in the dynamic process of everyday work and took into consideration organizational power relations (Foucault, 1977) as well as emotions (Antonacopoulou & Gabriel, 2001; Vince & Gabriel, 2011; Vince & Saleem, 2004; Vince, 2001). Such an approach uncovers the complex set of relations between individual and organizational attempts to learn. Individuals are the vehicle through which organizational power relations are legitimized, reinforced and performed (Butler, 1995) because what and how they mutually perform power relations define how things are in the whole organization. For instance, in the analysis chapter, I have illustrated the dominant power relations by taking examples of the five emergent aspects of the social unconscious. Thus, ‘searching for the kollektiv’, ‘no border between work and private’, ‘no room for mistakes’, ‘new is too individualistic’, and ‘creating a facade’ underlie the ‘ways we do things here’ (Vince & Gabriel, 2011) and define the course of organizational processes. The organization-wide dynamics, and consequently organizational learning, around the aspects of the social unconscious may be functional and nostalgic (‘searching for the kollektiv’ and ‘no border between work and private’) as well as dysfunctional (‘no room for mistakes’ and ‘creating a facade’) in nature, and can even manifest resistance to change (‘new is too individualistic’). Nonetheless, these are the unconscious constructs built and sustained by individuals in the organizations under investigation. Moreover, this is displayed through groups of shared emotions because the aspects of the social unconscious are apparent through the four sets of emotions discussed at the beginning of this chapter. What is performed and known by individuals can become organizational, and what is organizational resonates through the ways the individuals feel and act.

Turning to the aspects of the social unconscious discussed above, for instance, ‘searching for the kollektiv’ and ‘no border between work and private’ elucidate how emotions such as empathy, admiration, care about the other, belongingness and reliance on others are enacted by people work. Individuals in a kollektiv seem to share the same pleasant emotions and ‘feel that the organization itself feels like a family’ (5-1-43; photo-elicitation). This indicates how kollektiv members are capable of understanding and sharing the feelings of other members. These feelings are mainly expressed by the research participants through drawing on their relations with colleagues as a family relations as a metaphor to explain how they understand and can know each other well in any work situation. Similar to family life, they refer to work life as having ups and downs and accept that "in a good kollektiv... the tolerance is needed, because things happen in a

family..." (3-3-25), and "there are good days and bad days like in any family, and we share those days with each other" (5-8-50). Further, in 'creating a facade' between the kollektiv and non-kollektiv members, people within a kollektiv are aware of and act around the facade, and usually the members of one kollektiv know that they should protect and keep the facade up in front of non-members. In 'no room for mistakes', for instance, the way different people feel around a mistake and act upon it help facilitate the unconsciously shared construct of not having room for mistakes.

The findings from the current study show that individuals share and feel the same emotions thanks to individuals taking on 'the attributes of the other people with whom he or she is in contact' (Frosh, 2002:57). For example, feeling of belongingness to the kollektiv and reliance of/on others is shared by many as the deputy director of organization three argued 'I am not sure I can tell about my faithfulness... you ask the others... but I can tell about others' (3-2-24). He feels he knows others in the kollektiv and believes that others know him as much as he knows himself. In addition, this remark illustrates that individuals are identified with their group to a great extent because an individual who highly identifies with the group to which they belong tends to support and depend on the others in the group (Branscombe et al., 1993).

As mentioned before, Menges and Kilduff (2015) maintained that psychologists have mainly studied the issue of group emergence through identification and while scholars of organization see the emergence of group emotions being achieved through interaction. It has been elicited in the findings presented and discussed above that identification plays a major role in stimulating emotional convergence in the focal organizations. Although some previous scholarship in organization studies have addressed emotional convergence (Petriglieri & Stein, 2012; Stein, 2007; Vince & Mazen, 2014), identification has not been clearly established as an underpinning factor (see section 2.4.2.). The fact that a psychodynamics approach was incorporated into the designing of my research study, this may have enabled me to capture this important dimension as contributing to emotional convergence. Moreover, bringing forward identification as a way to connect an individual to the organizational, contributes to the 4I framework developed by Crossan and her colleagues (1999). The 4I framework was designed to investigate the relationship between individual cognition and action, and there are related processes, namely, intuiting, interpreting, integrating and institutionalizing, that connect individual, group and

organizational levels of learning. Building on the follow-up article by Crossan and her colleagues published in 2011 that stressed the importance of power and emotions in studying organizational learning, I have added another I – identification- and thus I have expanded the scholarship on how individual level learning connects with organizational learning.

5.4. The Soviet legacy lingering in the kollektivs

The five aspects of the social unconscious presented in this study in one way or another appear to relate to the former Soviet times. Four of them seem to be the outcomes of Soviet influence whereas the remaining one, ‘the new is too individualistic’, is the result of resistance to change and is entangled with anxiety regarding change and is geared towards keeping hold of what is familiar and reminiscent of the former Soviet society. In this section I discuss the relation of the four remaining aspects of the social unconscious to former Soviet experiences. The aspects relate to the role of the individual in the kollektiv and role the kollektiv formerly played in Soviet society. I discuss how the concept of kollektiv was used as a tool to manage and control society and subsequently, juxtapose my findings so as to illustrate the degree of overlap or conjunction of the Soviet ways of living with my research. Initially I explore two kollektiv practices and explore their role in establishing the individual self, and then I address the possible genesis of each separate aspect of the social unconscious.

Oblichenie (translated as exposure or denunciation) and otlichie (distinction) were two important practices exercised in the Soviet workplace which served in the creation of the Soviet individual. Regarding the former, as mentioned earlier in the context section of the literature review (see section 2.5.2.), in the mature Soviet society the kollektiv played a very important role as it became a self-managing control mechanism in the hands of the Communist Party. Power to exercise control over wrongdoing moved from the legal courts to the hands of the kollektiv members themselves (Kharkhordin, 1999). Thus people who broke rules could either be punished by the judicial courts or by the comrades’ court in which representatives from the kollektiv collectively listened to and admonished transgressors. In most cases, the comrades’ court usually defended the offenders in front of the legal court, which meant that the comrades’ court needed to take care of the offender. Such behaviour became a routine practice of oblichenie which took place in two stages - official and unofficial levels (ibid: 301). On the official level, it was

exercised through the individual reporting to the Communist Party committee at his or her organization, and on the unofficial level, it entailed a self-revelation regarding one's deeds and wrongdoings in front of kollektiv members. Through these, oblichenie created the Soviet individual as a self-revealing subject in front of the relevant community, and most of the time it was in front of one's own kollektiv (ibid). The procedure for receiving a penalty at the comrades' court was a standardized short presentation by the individual of what had gone wrong, followed by a discussion of the motives behind the wrongdoing and how the comrade planned to correct him or herself. Then the kollektiv members imposed an appropriate penalty (e.g. cancellation of an upcoming voucher to visit a sanatorium or plans for his or her children to attend camp) and finally, the offender was usually strongly advised to undergo correction 'under the watchful control of the kollektiv' (Kharkhordin, 1999:331).

There being 'no room for mistakes' is the aspect of social unconscious illustrated in the current study which recalls the Soviet process of oblichenie and confessions in front of the kollektiv, particularly when mistakes are discussed at the daily kollektiv-wide meeting. As reported in chapter four, the managing director of organization three mentioned that he aimed to find the person who chose the wrong photo (see section 4.4) at the company's kollektiv meeting. Moreover, it became apparent that there was anxiety and fear felt amongst several journalists and the proof reader from the same organization who were afraid to attend meetings. Fear and anxiety accompanying the construct of 'no room for mistakes' and the whole idea of being afraid to make a mistake might well have been inherited as a legacy of oblichenie.

In this study, the two vignettes provided in the 'no room for mistakes' section (see section 4.4) illustrate some behaviours similar to oblichenie. For example, recall Frank's behaviour after he realized that the wrong photo of the judge was printed. As mentioned above, oblichenie consists of two stages, first taking the offender to the comrades' court to admonish and punish him/her in front of the kollektiv, and second, the offender undergoes corrective measures within the kollektiv. First, Frank decided that he would call a meeting to find the person and punish him or her. This behaviour is deemed similar to the above mentioned comrades' court as Frank is going to find the offender and hand down a punishment. We may assume that the offender would also stand in front of the kollektiv members and give a short speech on how and why he or she made the mistake and swear that this error would not happen again. Second, there are two examples of

the kollektiv members undergoing corrective procedures in the kollektiv where other members correct them and show the wrongdoer how to do right by pointing out mistakes and correcting them in situ. For instance, Frank gave the example of cases when he caught people who arrived late at the company entrance (organization three) and mentioned he shamed them in private with the intention of preventing their future mistakes. On Frank's part, he argued that this was a good thing to do and his case was not the only one where colleagues were exhibiting this behaviour. For example, Mrs. Elton, the chief accountant, who policed latecomers at the door of organization three, is another example of such corrective actions taken within the kollektiv.

Another scenario of oblichenie is the example of Emma, the office manager who made a mistake in the measurements of windows (see section 4.4.). She automatically felt impelled to share her wrongdoing with her colleagues, and they understandingly advised on what to do. Emma's actions could be interpreted as self-revelation in front of the kollektiv, albeit without the official meeting being called and admonition handed down. Instead, it could be contended that by her actions, she skips the initial part of oblichenie – official admonition and punishment - and takes self- protective (or proactive) measures by revealing herself to the kollektiv. This action is in line with the Soviet notion of 'advancing the individual through the kollektiv, with the verb having the same meaning as in advancing money' (Kharkhordin, 1999:204). That is, instead of solving the problem herself, she 'advanced herself' to the kollektiv in the sense of attaching herself to it and owing up in front of the kollektiv for the wrongdoing (ibid).

Moving to another aspect of the social unconscious, as mentioned in the 'creating a façade' section (see section 4.5.), kollektiv members prefer to deal with the problems within the kollektiv themselves, therefore they need a façade. The words of Frank, the managing director of organization three, who maintained that 'whatever happens within (the kollektiv) we deal with it together without showing it to others' (3-1-23), fit here well and explain his enthusiasm of defending the peer kollektiv member from outsiders, meaning all non-kollektiv members in general.

Apart from oblichenie, there was the ritual of otlichie, which refers to distinguishing oneself from others, and as Kharkhordin put it: 'the mass produced individual emerging from Makarenko's factory, needed a finishing touch, the individual gloss to mark him or her as different from the other products on the conveyor belt' (Kharkhordin, 1999:337-338). There were two options

involved in making oneself distinct; first, one could distinguish him or herself by joining an informal interest group to enjoy an extracurricular activity. The more important second choice rested on excelling within the kollektiv by achieving set goals and showing oneself as doing better than others (ibid). The antecedents of otlichie may have been the Stakhanovites, the Soviet style Taylorists, who strove hard on the shop floor to be the best among all the workers so as to be celebrated nationwide on factory notice boards for their achievements in weekly or monthly competitions (Siegelbaum, 1990). These were the highly acclaimed engines of the Soviet workplace who wanted to fulfil each Five-Year Plan in three years (Siegelbaum & Sokolov, 2004) in an attempt to distinguish themselves from others and become the best of a kind (Kharkhordin, 1999). Similarly, such pressure to be the best among the many might offer a reason for ‘creating a façade’, because individuals needed not only to excel personally in what they were doing, but also demonstrate their efforts in front of others in their kollektiv. The pressure may have, at least partially, triggered them to unconsciously protect or distance themselves from others by creating a façade.

Moving to the next aspect of the social unconscious, the following extract shows how private and work lives were intertwined in Soviet times:

‘... during Soviet times, on the one hand, you didn’t have time to dwell on yourself, because we were all engaged in societal labour. And on the other hand, there simply was no need for that. If a husband cheated on his wife, the wife didn’t need to soil her hands, she just needed to go to the local party committee, call for a meeting and the husband would be told: ‘Vas, what are you doing, you have a son who is a pioneer, why on earth are you fooling around?’’ (Salmenniemi & Vorona, 2014:49).

The excerpt illustrates the nature of the Soviet individual who was ‘fundamentally transparent’, being open, accessible and similar to others ‘produced by submitting to consideration by the relevant group that review his or her morality, a procedure rooted in the practices of penance in the public gaze’ (Kharkhordin, 1999:356). Along similar lines, in my study, an older production and technical manager (2-3-14) recalling the Soviet times shared his experience of working as the head of the workshop:

‘I had 186 people, and I knew about every single of them, their wives even come to us, there is nowhere else to go, ‘why didn’t you give my husband’s salary?’, then I say that we gave the salary, the she says that he didn’t bring the salary home, and she is complaining to me, to the head of the workshop, then you call the husband and ask where is the money, why didn’t he bring the money home...’

This example connects the aspect of the social unconscious ‘no border between work and private’ to the former Soviet times where an individual was relying on the Communist Party and the workplace. Redlikh (1970) in his Bolshevik studies has argued that individuals shaped under the gaze of the kollektiv are made into a specific type of individual; a Soviet citizen or homo soveticus (Zinoviev, 1985). This might shed light on the reasons why some of the individuals in this current study who are located in a contemporary post-Soviet society are ‘searching for the kollektiv’. They claimed they feel themselves to be comfortable in the kollektiv and ‘we are like relatives, brothers and sisters, what else do you need? Sometimes, I don’t want to go home, yes, the kollektiv is that good!’ (3-12-34, cameraman) The socialist ideals of creating the individual was through ‘tightly fused kollektiv and develop[ing] a capacity for collective sentiments’ (Kharkhordin, 1999:190). Such attempts created the individual who is tightly bound to the kollektiv.

5.5. Chapter summary

This chapter discussed the four sets of social and unconscious emotions explaining the overall organizational processes in Kazakhstan. Individual and organizational learning were treated as a product of dynamics and each of the four was unpacked in a detailed manner to illustrate the underling dynamics. Following this the relationship between individual and organizational learning was discussed with identification being used as a way to illustrate how individuals relate to organizational learning. Aspects of the social unconscious in relation to the Soviet literature were presented.

6. Conclusion

6.1. Introduction

This chapter provides the concluding remarks for this study. First, the contributions of this research are revisited. These are divided into theoretical/practical and methodological ones. For the study, particular theories and methods were employed which points to there being potential limitations. In the penultimate section some limitations and suggested avenues for future research are offered. Some words on my personal experiences during this research conclude the chapter.

6.2. Contributions of the research

6.2.1. Theoretical and practical contributions

This study makes a contribution to scholarship concerning the social unconscious, organizational learning, emotions and the interaction between these three areas. My primary contribution is in connecting the individual to organizational learning by uncovering the unconscious aspects of it. The concept of the social unconscious was used to uncover the dominant power relations and how individuals in organizations mutually reproduce them. That is, by serving their commitments and work responsibilities, individuals are bound to organizational power relations, and this defines their learning possibilities, while, at the same time, individuals reproduce these power relations. Further, it was argued that what individuals know and do is informed by wider societal and even unconscious impulses. The concept of the social unconscious served as a platform that links how individuals subjected to the unconscious social rules enact them in the organizational context.

I have made a further empirical contribution as I offer an in-depth study of the ways the social unconscious and emotions impact on organizational learning in a novel context. The context provides the opportunity to study the central theories during an on-going transformation that is happening as a state shifts between two vastly different economic and political systems. The findings have illustrated contradicting emotions that include processes supporting the new system as well as processes of resistance. There were situations of people being stuck, supporting only their old habits as well as cases showing the processes involved in breaking away. Such complex

human interactions encountered in the workplace expand the possibilities for studying how individual and collective emotions are generated in an attempt to learn, or alternatively, avoid learning.

The thesis offers many general practical insights on organizations in Kazakhstan, including the recognition that a strong kollektiv sense among employees may be a taken-for-granted part of what an organization is and how it is felt. For those seeking to work in the post-Soviet context there are two recommendations: accept the prevailing social constructs and coexist with the kollektiv values, and be prepared for the fact that individualistic initiatives will be taken with caution. Moreover, the importance of the workplace in the lives of employees should not be overlooked. 'No border between work and private' blurs workplace and private affairs and these become two-in-one, which means that people who want to succeed in the post-Soviet business environment could be well advised to step out of work related routines and share experiences with their colleagues outside work hours (Muratbekova-Touron, 2002). Such exercises let the different parties get to know each other. Of key importance for the post-Soviet individual is that this helps them to grow to trust the new person, as they tend not to trust anyone unless they can personally relate to them (Kets de Vries, 2001).

6.2.2. Methodological contribution

The use of photo-elicitation in organization studies has been enhanced as a tool used to capture unconscious emotions pertaining to the two systems coexisting in the focal context, a society under transformation. In organization studies, photographic methods are applied to investigate processes in various strands of strategy research, organizational identity (Ray & Smith, 2012), and in studies of accounting (Dougherty & Kunda, 1990; Parker, 2009; Preston & Young, 2000). Moreover, some scholars have advanced a little further and stretched the capacity of photographs to investigate the 'non-rational' elements of organizational life (Warren, 2002, 2009). For example, in some investigations employees show how it feels to work in a certain location by taking photos of their workplace (Warren, 2002) and these photographs assist in illustrating the sense of community at work as well as employees being under organizational control. Photographs can be used to represent what is present and can keep to the main purpose of why they have been taken, but at the same time, they can be utilized as a vehicle to convey what and how research participants feel.

Free associations while viewing photographs are proven to be useful in studying emotions and the unconscious (Sievers, 2008, 2013; Vince & Warren, 2012) since they assist in uncovering respondents' unconscious emotions pertaining to their organization. It is this particular character of photographs that has offered advantages in this research. Therefore this researcher introduced a novel area of uncovering the capacities of photos when studying the possible impact of aspects of the social unconscious on organizational learning. Thus far, existing studies in this field have investigated the unconscious emotions of groups about their organizations (Sievers, 2008, 2013), but this researcher, following the same psychodynamics route, used photos to investigate the ways in which individuals' feelings are informed by their social views. The research participants in this study were given a pair of photos with the aim being to bring to light their internal tension regarding old and new times. In other words, these two photographs were introduced with each representing the two eras coexisting during the period of transformation. When introduced simultaneously, the participants narrated their views regarding present and former times and disclosed their attitudes towards each. This probing revealed the opposing shared views existing in the society as well as pointing out some lingering habits relating to the Soviet times.

6.3. Limitations and ideas for future research

As I have chosen to adopt certain theories, a particular context and style of research, there are certain limitations that need to be addressed. Some limitations pertaining to the outcomes of the research and methodological approach are given below.

Concerning the outcomes, I investigated how the social unconscious impacts upon organizational learning through systemic power relations and social and unconscious emotions. Thus, I concentrated only on emotions defined by the social unconscious, and there might be other concepts useful for defining specific emotions and power relations and there may well be other emotions defining the same concept in organizations. Moreover, additional and different aspects of the social unconscious, apart from the five that have been defined, might be of salience. Interplay between different social emotions felt and targeted towards others has been interpreted in a way deemed suited to this context. It should be noted, however, that similar sets of emotions could be received and enacted differently in other contexts.

As a qualitative study, findings from this research are intended to make a contribution by being generalized to theory rather than context. The data were collected in four research settings, one village, one town, which is a regional centre, one large city, and one more organization was situated in the outskirts of a large city. This was an attempt to incorporate diverse emotions felt and shared among people in different parts of Kazakhstan. However, this does not mean that this in any way fully covers the shared unconscious and the emotions are to be found in this country. Moreover, organizations in different sectors of business, including the public sector were recruited, which limited my chances of investigating how the social unconscious might affect a particular industry or group of organizations. On the flip side of this, I had access to a capture a great variety of emotions across various industries which, in fact, might be closer to representing the social unconscious and the emotions felt by peoples in Kazakhstan.

In addition, propositions and arguments developed around each of the five aspects of the social unconscious are both limited by the respondents' answers at the time of the interview and by the questions I asked, most of which were context dependent. The interviews themselves were the setting for constructing the reality (Gubrium et al., 2012), therefore respondents' and this researcher's emotions toward each other experienced during the interviews served as a facilitating as well as a restricting component in terms of what respondents chose to share and withhold. At the same time, dynamics between the participant and the researcher directed the flow of questions to be asked. In addition, my knowledge of this research area has grown considerably over the years. If I had been as equipped as I feel now when I carried out the interviewing, there is a strong possibility that I could have asked different questions, which could have yielded different data.

Concerning the methodological approach, the two photographs used for the photo-elicitation were the main tools that yielded important elements of data. It should be noted that if my choice of photos had been different to those which in fact were used, there could have been somewhat different reactions elicited. The main reasons for choosing these particular two photos were that both depicted people at work and the paired photos aimed to represent the two systems currently co-existing in Kazakhstan. In case of the old shot, my choice was limited to the number and range of available archival photos that I could access. Potentially, the photo representing the new times could have been purposefully photographed beforehand and designed to present a culturally

sensitive mix of people representing the ethnic groups of Kazakhstan. In the future, to obtain robust responses, where possible the chosen photos could be more purposefully selected so as to ensure they are highly sensitive to the context in which they are used.

One of the reasons for keeping a reflective diary was to write down what I sensed after each interview. The aim was to document the emotions that could potentially have been transferred to me from interviewees, with the purpose being to match these diary notes with the interview data from the corresponding participant. During the interview collection stage, there were however, situations when I could not write what I felt, perhaps because of the strong conflicting emotions I experienced after the interview encounters. Emotions are difficult things to study, and although I planned to write down what I felt, sometimes the emotions did not allow me to write the diary in the way intended. In future studies, it could be more practical to audio record what I felt instead of trying to put into a documented text. Speaking may help to record directly what I feel in that moment and serve as a better instrument for keeping a diary than writing. Looking back, when feeling angry after an interview, it is perhaps better to record the emotion as felt, rather than converting it into text and by so doing, rationalize and neutralize the situation, as I tried to do on some occasions.

There are some avenues for future research which could prove fruitful and shed further light on the phenomenon under investigation. Although I reconstructed the changing dynamics in the organizations under investigation, this is still a snapshot view of how things evolve in organizations. A longitudinal approach would provide an overview of the transitional period and, for example, illustrate how the young teachers in organization one settled in at work or possible developments around other cases that were raised in the study. It should be acknowledged that the research sites were from different geographical locations and spread out across a country that is approximately ten times bigger than Great Britain. For instance, the school is in a small rural village whilst the university is sited on the outskirts of a large modern city. Accordingly, it is to be expected that research participants have different mind sets and there will be differences in the way people behave. In the future, it would be useful to make a comparative study between different research settings and investigate whether and how it affects learning. Similarly, the leadership and the role of managing directors was a prevalent theme that has not been followed through. Some of the narratives of interviewees regarding their bosses and leaders were noted in

the context of kollektivs and these issues could be developed further within the broader arena of leadership and its role in organizational learning.

6.4. Final words

The PhD journey has been a profound learning experience and can be summed up as ‘an oscillation between de- and re-construction, between de- and re-framing’ (Clegg, Kornberger, & Rhodes, 2005:156). This is not the beginning or the end of learning for me. However the years spent creating the PhD were a life changing experience allowing me to gain knowledge of the theories I used, insight regarding the country where I was born and, of course, awareness of myself. This is a rather rational way to finish the thesis as it was a very emotional journey; however I found it is very difficult to express my emotions in a coherent manner. This in itself may be the result of unconscious emotions; the fear, and/or anxiety that I experience in the moment. Relating back to the findings of this research and keeping in mind the fact that I come from the same context, maybe it is fear of mistakes and maybe I am afraid to feely express what I feel. Maybe I am searching for others’ (kollektiv) support and a nudge in writing this. Indeed, perhaps I (unconsciously) prefer to keep up the façade between what I am really feeling and what is made social. There again, perhaps I am just too anxious about finishing this document and simply worried about submitting it.

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Appendix 1 The list of research participants

#	organization	affiliation	coded name	used name	occupation	age	Gender
1	organization one	School	1-1-1		Math teacher	ca.55-57	F
2	organization one	School	1-2-2		Administrative personnel/office manager	ca.50-52	F
3	organization one	School	1-3-3A	Darya	Elementary School teacher	ca.34-36	F
4	organization one	School	1-3-3B	Natalie	Physics teacher	ca. 22-23	F
5	organization one	School	1-4-4	Alexei	The Principal of the School	ca. 55	M
6	organization one	School	1-5-5		History teacher	35 year old	F
7	organization one	School	1-6-6		The teacher of Physical Training	30 years old	M
8	organization one	School	1-7-7		The teacher of English Language	ca.22-23	F
9	organization one	School	1-8-8		Elementary School teacher	ca.40	F
10	organization one	School	1-9-9		Janitor	ca.26-29	M
11	organization one	School	1-10-10		The teacher of Russian Language	ca.61-63	F
12	organization one	School	1-11-11A		The vice-principal/teacher of Math	43 years old	F
13	organization one	School	1-11-11B	Anna	Elementary School teacher	43 years old	F
14	organization two	Window manufacturing	2-1-12		Chief Power Engineer	55 years old	M
15	organization two	Window manufacturing	2-1-13		Health and Safety Manager	ca.55-60	M
16	organization two	Window manufacturing	2-3-14		Production Manager	ca.55-65	M
17	organization two	Window manufacturing	2-4-15		AutoCAD master	ca.25	F
18	organization two	Window manufacturing	2-5-16		Supply personnel	under 30	M
19	organization two	Window manufacturing	2-6-17		Shop floor worker	23-25	M
20	organization two	Window manufacturing	2-7-18		Chief Accountant	45-50	F
21	organization two	Window manufacturing	2-8-19		Accountant	ca.35	F
22	organization two	Window manufacturing	2-9-20		Accountant	ca-35	F
23	organization two	Window manufacturing	2-10-21		Young accountant	ca-25	F
24	organization two	Window manufacturing	2-11-22	Emma	Office manager	30-35	F
25	organization three	Media Centre	3-1-23	Frank	Managing Director	30	M
26	organization three	Media Centre	3-2-24		Deputy Director	37	M
27	organization three	Media Centre	3-3-25	Mrs. Elton	Chief Accountant	58-60	F

28	organization three	Media Centre	3-4-26		Editor-in-chief of a newspaper	35	M
29	organization three	Media Centre	3-5-27		Deputy to the editor-in-chief	43	M
30	organization three	Media Centre	3-6-28		Senior journalist	ca.30	F
31	organization three	Media Centre	3-7-29		Journalist	ca.25	F
32	organization three	Media Centre	3-8-30		Proof reader	ca.50	F
33	organization three	Media Centre	3-9-31		Accountant- economist	ca.30	M
34	organization three	Media Centre	3-10-32		Senior journalist	38	F
35	organization three	Media Centre	3-11-33		Senior journalist	32	F
36	organization three	Media Centre	3-12-34		Operator/cameraman	50	M
37	organization three	Media Centre	3-13-35		Supply manager	ca.30	M
38	organization four	Publishing House	4-1-36		Designer	ca.55-60	F
39	organization four	Publishing House	4-2-37		Newspaper Printer	ca.50-55	M
40	organization four	Publishing House	4-3-38	Konstantin	Supply manager	ca.27-32	M
41	organization four	Publishing House	4-4-39		Senior Engineer	ca.55-60	M
42	organization four	Publishing House	4-5-40		Electrician	ca.55-60	M
43	organization four	Publishing House	4-6-41		Safety Engineer	ca.55-60	M
44	organization four	Publishing House	4-7-42		Designer	32 year old	M
45	organization five	University	5-1-43		Head of the Philology Faculty	ca.50-55	M
46	organization five	University	5-2-44		Teacher of Kazakh language	ca.30	M
47	organization five	University	5-3-45	James	Head of English Languages department	ca.30	M
48	organization five	University	5-4-46		Teacher of Kazakh language	ca.30	F
49	organization five	University	5-5-47		Teacher of English language	ca.30-35	M
50	organization five	University	5-6-48		Head of Economics Department	ca.40	M
51	organization five	University	5-7-49		Head of Marketing Department	ca.30-35	F
52	organization five	University	5-8-50		Deputy Dean	ca.40	F
53	organization five	University	5-9-51		Teacher of English language	ca.35	M
54	organization five	University	5-10-52		Teacher of English language	ca.25-30	F

The names of the participants were withheld and the pseudonyms used are the names of some characters taken from Jane Austen's 'Northanger Abbey' and 'Emma' and Leo Tolstoy's 'Anna Karenina'.

Appendix 2 Consent Form for the interview (in English)

Title of Research Project

Emotions and relations among people affecting organizational change in Kazakhstan

Details of Project

This PhD project is an explorative study into the underlying dynamics between relations among people and emotions that affect organisational change in Kazakhstan. The study aims to find out how the old Soviet and new free market economy styles of organizing co-exist in post-Soviet organizations. The aim of this research is to contribute to the academic debate on how emotions and organizational relations impact organizational change in the post-Soviet context.

Contact Details

For further information about the research or your interview data, please contact:

• Indira Kjellstrand (+7-701-5559322 (KZ) or +44 7591074223 (UK); I.Kjellstrand@bath.ac.uk)

If you have concerns/questions about the research you would like to discuss with someone else at the University, please contact (in Russian):

• Gregory Schwartz, (+44 1225 386486; G.Schwartz@bath.ac.uk)

Data storage

All interview transcripts will be stored in confidence and in accordance with the Data Protection Act as well as the university's general data protection guidelines. If you request it, you will be supplied with a copy of your interview transcript.

Anonymity

Any data that the researcher extracts from this project for use in reports or published findings will not, under any circumstance, contain names or reveal your identity.

Consent

I voluntarily agree to participate and to the use of the interview data for the purposes specified above. I have read and understood the explanatory information. I understand that I have the right to withdraw from the study at any time. I can choose to not answer any questions asked should I feel uncomfortable at any time during the interview.

SIGNATURE:

DATE.....

Note: Your contact details are kept separately from your interview data

Name of interviewee:.....

Email/phone:.....

Signature of researcher.....

2 copies to be signed by both interviewee and researcher, one kept by each

Appendix 3 Interview Guide

- How does a typical workday look like for you?
 - What do you do at work?
 - Could you give me examples, please?
 - Do you have any unwritten/informal rules at work? If yes, what are they?
 - Any rules that you follow?
 - What makes your organization different from any other?
 - Does your company organize social events? If yes, what kind? What do you think of the social events? How do they affect your work?
-
- How do those rules you talked about make you feel?
 - How do you feel about rules and regulations you follow at work?
 - Could you give examples?
 - What are the general emotional dynamics within your organization?
 - What are your personal emotions about how the organization functions?
 - Can you please give specific examples?
-
- When you look at these two photos, what do you feel?
 - How do you feel about the picture on the left? And on the right?
 - Which of the pictures is closer to your heart?